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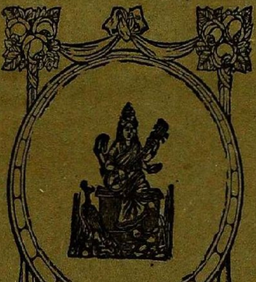

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THE THREE RECENSIONS OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

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A. Introduction.

The differences between the three recensions of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa have often been commented upon. Dr. H. Jacobi (Cf. Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 3) classsifies them under the following heads :

1. Each recension differs from both or one of the others in the common verses, the Southern recension having the more original text.
2. Each recension has a good number of verses, even longer passages and whole cantos, which are not to be found in one or even both of the others. Comparing the Southern and the Bengal recensions, we find that one third of the verses are proper to each recension.
3. The sequence of the verses is often different in two or even three recensions.

If we had the differences listed under 2 only we might take them for additions or omissions, but those under 1 and 3 prove that the recensions were independently written down on the basis of an orally differently transmitted text. Those differences, thus brought about by oral tradition, look very impressive when expressed in terms of textual extent. To the 4202½ ślokas of the North-Western Sundara Kāṇḍa, *e.g.*, correspond 3308½ ślokas in the Bengal and 3948 ślokas in the Southern recension. Out of these ślokas of the N. W. recension 31 per cent. are absent in the Bengal recension and 28 per cent. in the Southern ; and 13 per cent. are exclusive to the North-Western recension. (Cf. Lahore ed. of Sundara Kāṇḍa. Introduction, p. 62). Comparing the Southern and the Bengal recensions, Dr. Jacobi (Cf. o. c. p. 4) counted the verses of the first 30 cantos of the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa and found only 749 common verses out of a total of 1303 in the Southern recension and 1228 in the Bengal recension.

The above figures may suggest a completely false picture of the divergence between the various recensions. This, however, can easily be rectified if we examine this divergence from the point of view of the subject-matter and find how little the narrative itself has been changed. The following table attempts to give a systematic and fairly complete comparison of the three recensions from this point of view. It will be followed by an analysis of the results obtained with regard to the genesis of the three recensions. It may be useful, however, to point out, here, those differences, which for various reasons deserve special mention. Otherwise we may not be able to see the wood for the trees.

In the Bālakāṇḍa, the Southern version adds mythological stories (Cf. No 2 ff. of the table) and mentions the signs of the Zodiac (Cf. No 1), whereas the other recensions have a third table of contents (Cf. No 9) and two sargas describing Bharata's visit to his maternal grandparents. (Cf. No 10).

In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, the Southern version only mentions the visit to Vālmīki by the exiles (Cf. No 29) and the condemnation of Buddha by Rāma (Cf. No 30). The other versions make Sītā the mental daughter of Janaka and Menakā. (Cf. No 58).

In the Āraṇyakāṇḍa, the Southern version only makes Rāvaṇa visit Mārīca before the arrival of Śūrpaṇakhā (Cf. No. 60.

The Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa of the Southern version only mentions that when the angry Lakṣmaṇa arrived at Kiṣkindhā, Sugrīva sent Tārā to pacify him. (Cf. No 77)

The Yuddhakāṇḍa has the greatest number of divergences. Besides duplicating various encounters, the Southern recension contains the following additions : Hanumān's encounter with personified Laṅkā (Cf. No 89) ; the second council held by Rāvaṇa (Cf. No 110) ; a duplication of the sending of spies by Rāvaṇa (Cf. No. 111) ; the destruction of Drumakulya by Rāma's arrow (Cf. No 112) ; the hymn to the Sun given by Agastya to Rāma (Cf. No 119). On the other hand, both the other versions mention the intervention of Vibhīṣaṇa's mother (Cf. Nos 122, 124); the continuation of Rāvaṇa's first council at the end of which Rāvaṇa, in a towering rage, kicks Vibhīṣaṇa (Cf. No 123) ; the episode of Kālanemi being sent to kill Hanumān, when the latter is fetching the herbs,

and Hanumān's fight with the Gandharvas on the same occasion.

The Bengal recension alone has Vibhīṣaṇa's visit to his brother Vaiśravaṇa (Cf No. 125) and the conversation between Bharata and Hanumān when the latter is fetching the herbs. The North-Western recension too has matter all its own: Samudra presenting mailcoat and weapons to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (Cf. No 127) and the disturbance of Rāvaṇa's homa, by dragging Maṇḍodarī on the spot. (Cf. No 135).

The only difference worth noting in the Uttarakāṇḍa, is a short passage added to the Southern recension, wherein the repudiation of Sītā is motivated by Bhṛgu's curse against Viṣṇu (Cf. No 146). Dr. Jacobi suggests that the much greater agreement between the various versions for the Uttarakāṇḍa might be explained by the fact that before being written down independently the older books were subjected much longer to oral tradition (Cf. o. c. p. 254). Seeing the great agreement it is difficult to speak of an independent tradition at all for the Uttarakāṇḍa.

The preparation of the comparative table was made possible by the concordance of the Southern and Bengal recensions, printed by Dr. Jacobi (Cf. o. c. p. 220 ff.), and the marginal references in the edition of the North-Western recension (These references are missing for the first 66 sargas of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa). Dr. Jacobi's concordance is very reliable; except for easily corrected printing mistakes, we found very few omissions: *e.g.* II, 44 corresponds to Bengal II, 64 (Cf. No 49 of the comparative table). Greater caution is needed when using the concordance of the Lahore edition; besides inevitable misprints there are a good few omissions: e.g. in the Sundarakāṇḍa sarga 27 is said to be absent in both the other recensions whereas it is present in the Southern recension, sarga 33 and the Bengal recension, sarga 31; sarga 28 is said to be absent in the Southern recension, whereas it is present (Cf. sarga 34); sarga 37 is said to be absent in the Bengal recension, whereas it is present (Cf. sarga 37).

The first two kāṇḍas of the Southern and the Bengal recensions were compared by G. Gorresio in his introduction to his first volume (Cf. p. 45); this has facilitated the work for these kāṇḍas. Although not making a systematic comparison, C. V. Vaidya, in his The Riddle of the Ramayana, has a useful appendix: The extent of the Rāmāyaṇa and its

Bombay and Bengal recensions (Cf. pp. 181—190). The differences indicated by him are marked Vaidya in the comparative table. I have not been able to consult H. Wirtz's inaugural dissertation on the North-Western recension: Die Westliche Rezension des Rāmāyaṇa, Bonn, 1894.

B. COMPARATIVE TABLE

Taking the most widely spread recension, called Southern for lack of a better name, as standard of comparison we give for each Kāṇḍa separately :

A. the subject-matter present in the Southern recension and absent from one or both of the others.

B. the subject-matter absent from the Southern recension and present in one or both of the others. Finally ,

C. Other differences, which cannot be classified under either A. or B., or which are of minor importance.

Whenever entire sargas or fairly long passages are not present in all recensions, they are pointed out, even if they do not contain any new subject-matter. Where the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī is not mentioned this means that it either agrees or does not contradict the North-Western recension.

The following abbreviations have been used :

R. for the Southern version as published by the Gujarāti Printing Press, Bombay, 1912. This edition apparently agrees entirely with the Nirnaya Sagara Press edition.

B. for the Bengal recension as edited by G. Gorresio. Paris. 1843 ff.

N.W. for the North-Western recension, published by the D. A. V. College, Lahore. 1923ff.

A Roman figure indicates the Kāṇḍas, I to VII ; the first Arabic figure indicates the sarga ; the whole sarga is meant, if no other figures, indicating the verses, follow. When, dealing with one Kāṇḍa only, no confusion is to be feared, the Roman figure has been omitted. Describing the differences in the Bālakāṇḍa *e.g.*, B. 17 stands for the whole sarga 17 of the Bengal recension.

Bāla-Kāṇḍa

A. *Matter present in the Southern recension, and absent from one or both of the others*

1. The auspicious conjunction of the stars, mentioning the *signs of the Zodiac* and the date (9th Caitra), at the birth of the princes. Cf. R. 18, 8ff.

Absent in B. and N.W.

2. *The tapasyā of Kaśyapa,* by which he obtained Hari as his son in the Vāmanāvatāra, Cf. R. 29, 10-17.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

3. *Umā's marriage with Śiva.* Cf. R. 35, 19-22 and N.W. 32, 24-26.

Absent in B.

4. The episode of *Jahnu drinking the Ganges.* Cf. R. 43, 34b-41.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

5. Viṣṇu's assuming the *Mohinī Māyā form* and stealing the amṛta. Cf. R. 45, 40-43.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

6. Viṣṇu's *Tortoise Avatāra.* Cf. R. 45, 27-32.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

7. *Indra assuming the guise of a Brahmin* and asking Viśvāmitra for rice. Cf. R. 65, 3-10.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

8. The story of the *origin of Sagara.* Cf. R. 70, 28-37a.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

B. *Matter absent from the Southern recension and present in one or both of the others.*

9. A *third table of contents,* giving the matter of the seven kāṇḍas. cf. B. 4 and N.W. 3.

10. Two sargas concerning *Bharata's visit to Rājagṛha,* mention of which is made by R. 77 also.

Bharatasya Mātāmahagṛhapraveśa: Daśaratha sends Bharata and Śatrughna, giving them some instruction. Cf. B. I, 79 and N.W. II, 1.

Bharatadūtāgamana: Instruction of Bharata and Śatrughna. Messengers sent by Bharata bring wishes and news to Ayodhyā. Cf. B. I, 80 and N.W. II, 2

C. *Other Differences.*

11. *The Solemn Āśvamedha.* More rites and details in the Southern version. Kausalyā killing the horse with three strokes (Cf. R. 14, 33) has been changed in B. 13, 32 and N.W. 10, 33. (Vaidya).

12. The *Ṛśyaśṛṅga episode* is much more developed in both B and N.W.; so much so that they have two extra sargas.

Ṛśyāśṛṅga-prayāṇam B. 17, N.W. 12
Ṛśyaśṛṅgopākhyānam B. 18, N.W. 13

13. *Tāḍakā-vadha.* Cf. R. 28 More details and supernatural elements in the Southern version.

14. *Gaṅgāvatarana.* The Southern version mentions seven rivers issuing from Śiva's head (Cf. R. 43, 11) whereas the others versions mention one only. Cf. B. 45 and N.W. 40.

15. *Samudra-Manthana.* In the Southern version the poison is vomited by the serpent and swallowed by Śiva. Cf. R. 45, 19-26. In the other recensions the poison comes from the ocean and is drunk by the Nāgas. Cf. B. 46, 31 and N.W. 41, 30-31.

16. The *Offspring of Diti.* According to the Southern recension, Indra divides the foetus into seven parts (Cf. R. 46, 18), whereas the other recensions say into 49 parts (Cf. B. 47, 17-18 and N.W. 42, 18-19). In this case the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī follows the Southern version (Cf. v. 289).

17. The *Sacrifice of Ambarīṣa.* Some minor differences. R. mentions two mantras, to Indra and Viṣṇu (Cf. 62, 25) whereas the others mention one only, to Indra (Cf. B. 64, 25; N.W. 58, 25). Here again the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī seems to follow the Southern version since it has "Gāthādvayam" (Cf. v. 444).

18. Slight variations in the *genealogical tables* and nuptial rites. Cf. R. 70. 71 and 73.

19. C. V. Vaidya points out that the śloka of R. 77, 44, about the girls sporting in private with their husbands:

"remire muditās sarvā bhartṛbhiḥ sahitā rahaḥ"

has been changed in B. 78, 12. Also in N.W. 72, 11. Both have:

"remire muditās-tatra bhartṛpriyahite ratāḥ" This has been done in deference to the later prevailing custom of child-marriage.

Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa.

A. *Matter present in the Southern recension, and absent from one or both of the others*

20. Sarga 35. Sumantra *reviles Kaikeyī* and tells the story how Kaikeyi's mother was abandoned by her husband.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

21. Sarga 47. *Lament of the people* on not finding Rāma, who has left very early in the morning.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

22. *Rāma's farewell* to the town of Ayodhyā and dismissal of the country-people. Cf. R. 50, 1-11 and N.W. 50, 17-23.

Absent in B. 47.

23. Long poetic *description of the Ganges.* Cf. R. 50, 13-24.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

24. Mention of the country of the *Vatsas,* when they are supposed to have entered the forest. Cf. R. 52, 101 (Vaidya).

Absent in both B. and N.W.

25. Description of the making of a *raft to cross the Yamunā* and Sītā's prayer to the Yamunā, with the promise of a hundred vessels of wine. The latter is obviously an imitation of Sītā's prayer to the Ganges. Cf. R. 55, 13-21.

Absent in both B. 55 and N.W. 59.

26. *Visit to Vālmīki.* Cf. R. 56, 16-17.

Absent in both B. 56 and N.W. 60.

27. *Sītā eating meat.* Cf. R. 96, 1-6.

Absent in both B. 106 and N.W. 110. Elsewhere however, in both B. and N.W., Sītā is said to have eaten meat. Cf. *e.g.* B. 52, 38.

28. Sarga 98. *Bharata sends Guha and Śatrughna to search the forest.* He climbs a tree and sees the smoke above Rāma's hut. This is present in N.W. 112, where Bharata does not climb a tree but searches the summits of Citrakūṭa.

Absent in B.

29. *Rāma's answer to Jābāli.* Cf. R. 109 and B. 118.

Absent in N.W. but present in the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī.

30. *The Condemnation of Buddha.* Cf. R. 109, 34.

Absent in B. 118 and Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī; also in N.W. where the whole sarga is missing as noticed under No. 29.

B. *Matter absent from the Southern recension and present in one or both of the others.*

31. *Kaikeyī cursed by a Brahmin.* Kaikeyi once slandered a Brahmin and was cursed by him to be calumniated in

her turn. That's why, being "Śāpadoṣamohitā", she comes under the influence of Mantharā. Present in both B. 8, 33b-37 and N.W. 11, 37b-41. Nothing in R.9.

32. Kaikeyī relates to Mantharā how she was able to save Daśaratha from the Rākṣasas and obtain her two boons. Once she had made a Brahmin laugh and, as a reward, had obtained from him, *Vidyābala*, by which she was enabled to save her husband. Cf. N.W. 11, 42 ff.

Absent in both R. and B.

33. *Three sargas* entirely absent from the Southern recension.

B. 21 N.W. 24: Rāma's answer to Lakṣmaṇa's speech, as reported in R. 23, B. 20 and N.W. 23.

B. 22 N.W. 25: Kausalyā argues that a mother rather than a father, is to be obeyed.

B. 23 N.W. 26: Rāma's answer to Kausalyā.

34. Rāma, before leaving, *recommends his mother* to Daśaratha.

Cf. B. 37, 20-24 and N.W. 40, 20 ff. Absent in R. 37.

35. *Lakṣmaṇa-sandeśā.* Lakṣmaṇa asks Sumantra to tell Daśaratha his indignation. Rāma calms Lakṣmaṇa. Cf. B. 50 and N.W. 54.

36. After their farewell to Guha, the three exiles come to a *lotuspond*, where they stay three nights, living on lotus-fibres. Cf. B. 52, 29-38 and N.W. 56, 27b-38. Absent in R. 52.

37. *The Lament of Kausalyā.* Cf. B. 61, and N.W 65.

38. *Bharata complains* to Śatrughna about his mother. Cf. B. 78, 2-9 and N.W. 82, 2-9. Absent in R. 75.

39. After Bharata-śapatha (Cf. R. 75), both B. and N.W. insert two cantos with *Bharata's lament and Jābāli's consolation.* Cf. B. 80-81 and N.W. 84-85.

40. After the last rites of Daśaratha and the lament of Bharata and Śatrughna, both B (85) and N.W. (89) add one sarga where *jalakriyā* is mentioned along with Bharata's resolve of prāyopaveśana and *Dharmapāla's consolation.*

41. *Guhavākyam* : Guha praising Bharata. Cf. B. 93 and N.W. 97.

42. *Prayāga-Praveśa*: The entrance into the Prayāga-forest. Guha describes the road; Bharata then enters the

Prāyaga-forest and reaches Bharadvāja's āśrama. Cf. B. 98. and N.W. 102.

43. Jābāli cites a long list of *Ikṣvāku-vāṁśa-kings*. Cf. B. 116, 28 ff. This is absent from both the Southern recension and the N.W.

44. The Bengal version has one sarga, describing how *Bharata refuses the kingdom*. Cf. B. 117. This sarga is entirely absent from N.W., but is partly present in R. 105.

C. *Other Differences.*

45. In the Southern recension, Mantharā makes an allusion to *Rāma's wives* : hṛṣṭāḥ khalu bhaviṣyanti rāmasya paramāḥ striyaḥ; Cf. R. 8, 12.

The other versions change this into : ṛddhiyuktā śriyā juṣṭā rāmapatnī bhaviṣyati ; Cf. B. 7, 6 a and N-W. 10, 6a. (Vaidya).

46. *Kaikeyī-nindā.* In the Southern recension, sarga 12, Daśaratha's complaints against Kaikeyī are much longer than in the corresponding sargas of the other recensions. On the other hand, both B. and N.W. have a full extra sarga, later on, dealing with the same subject (Cf. B. 44 and N.W. 37) and corresponding more or less to the 12th sarga of the Southern recension.

46. bis. In R. 14, 55, Sumantra is commanded by Kaikeyī to fetch Rāma; by Daśaratha in the other recensions. Cf. B. 11 and N. W. 15.

47. The śloka wherein Rāma sees his mother offer an *oblation to the fire* (dadarśa mātaram hāvayantīm hutāśanam R. 20,16) according to the Southern recension, has been changed in both B. 17, 8 and N.W. 20, 8 where we read : dadarśa mātaram tatra devāgāre yatavratām. (Vaidya)

48. When the bark-dress has been put on, *Vasiṣṭha reproaches Kaikeyī* in R. 37, 14ff. In the other recensions it is Daśaratha himself who scolds Kaikeyī. Cf. B. 37, 15ff and N.W. 40, 15ff. Besides, in R., Rāma helps Sītā in putting on the dress, whereas she puts it on herself in B (Vaidya), and also in N.W.

49. Sarga R. 44, wherein *Sumitrā consoles Kausalyā*, and which should come after B. 42, is placed much later in the other recensions. Cf. B. 64 ; N.W. 68.

50. *Sītā's promise to the Ganges*: surāghaṭasahasra, a hundred vessels of wine (Cf. R. 52, 89) has been changed in

both B. 52 and N.W. 56. These two omit all reference to wine. (Vaidya)

51. Instead of *one leaf-hut,* as given in R. 56, 20, Lakṣmaṇa is said to have made two in both B. 56, 20 and N.W 60, 20.

52. In Kausalyā's lament mention is made of the *three refuges of a woman*: husband, son and relatives. Cf. R. 61, 24. This has been changed, in both B. 62, 38 and N.W. 66. 39, into the four refuges (gati) of a man : self, son, saints and religious merit.

53. *The killing of the hermit-boy* by Daśaratha. The three recensions call his mother a Śūdrā. The Southern recension calls his father a Vaiśya (Cf. 63, 51) whereas the other two call him a Brahmin (Cf. B. 65, 43 and N.W. 69, 44). These two, further, agree in giving the name of the by as Yajñadatta (Cf. B. 66, 6 and N.W. 70,6), the Southern recension not mentioning his name at all.

54. *Last rites of Daśāratha.* The burning of the body and the lament of Bharata and Śatrughna (Cf. R. 76-77) is worded differently in both B. 83-84 and N.W. 87-88.

55. The *opening verse of R. Sarga* 101, incongruous because of the interpolated sarga 100, has been changed in both B. 110 and N.W. 114. (Vaidya).

56. The mention of *Brahmā's Varāhāvatāra* in R. 110, 3 has been changed in both the other recensions. The Southern version, here, follows the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Cf. 14. 1.2.11) and has:

Tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā Svayambhūr-daivataiḥ saha (v.3).

Sa Vārāhas-tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām.

Asṛjacca jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ Kṛtātmabhiḥ. (v.4)

Both B (119) and N.W. (123) follow the later universally accepted view that it was Viṣṇu who took the Varāhāvatāra. Cf, B. 119, 3b-4a, which reads: tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr-Viṣṇur-avyayaḥ. Sa Vāräho 'tha bhūtvā...(Vaidya)

57. The *episode of the sandals* is different in the three recensions. In R. 112, 21ff, Bharata asks for Rāma's golden (Hemabhūṣita) sandals, which he will invest with the Government. In B. 123, 16-21, the sage Śarabhaṅga happens to send a pair of sandals made of grass (kuśapādukā) to Rāma;

it is Vasiṣṭha who asks Rāma to give them to Bharata, (Vaidya). In N.W., neither Śarabhaṅga nor Kuśapādukā are mentioned, but it is Vasiṣṭha who asks for the sandals just as in B. (Cf. N.W. 125, 19ff).

58. In R. 118, 28 ff. Sītā tells the *story of her birth to Anasūyā.* She came out of the earth when Janaka was ploughing the field for the sacrifice and a voice from the sky told him that in all righteousness she was his daugther (dharmeṇa tanayā tava).

Both B. III, 4 and N.W. III, 2 give a very much enlarged version. Janaka sees Menakā in the sky and is troubled in his mind. " If only she could bear childern for me, who am without offspring" ; thus he wishes.

Asyām nāma mamo-tpadyed-apatyaṁ kīrtivardhanam
Mamā-patyavihīnasya mahān sa syād-anugrahaḥ.
(Cf.B. III, 4, 10).

A voice assures him that his desire will be fulfilled. He then finds the child Sītā in the furrow, whereupon a voice again is heard, telling him that she is his mental child, born from Menakā : Menakāyāḥ samutpannā kanye-yam mānasī tava. Cf. B. ib. v. 16. The North-Western recension has the same line, but changes mānasī into the less probable mānuṣī. (Cf. N.W. III, 2, 17).

Āraṇya-Kāṇḍa

A. *Matter present in the Southern recension, and absent from one or both of the others.*

59. *Rāma's thrust at Kaikeyī.* Cf. R. 2. 18b-25. Present in B, 7, but absent in N.W. 5.

60. Akampana brings Rāvaṇa the news from Janasthāna and advises Sītāharaṇa, whereupon *Rāvaṇa visits Mārīca.* Cf. R. 31.

This absent in both B. and N.W.

61. *Rāma's lament for Sīta* much longer in R, which has three sargas more than B and two more than N.W.

(*a*) R. 60 : Rāma, looking for Sītā, interrogates trees and animals. Absent in B., but present in N.W.

(*b*) R. 62 : A repetition of sarga 60. Absent in both B. and N.W.

(*c*) R. 63 : Lament of Rāma in Triṣṭubh. Absent in both B. and N.W.

62. The episode of the *Rākṣasī Ayomukhī*, whom Lakṣmaṇa mutilates. Cf. R. 69, 11-18. Absent in both B. 74 and N.W. 76.

63. The story of the *Ṛṣi Sthūlaśiras* who cursed Kabandha. Cf. R. 71, 2b-7a. This is missing in B. 75, but Gorresio mentions that he cut out the passage, because obviously spurious. Present in N.W. 78. The episode, although an interpolation, dates therefore from before the bifurcation of the recensions.

64. Neither B. 77 nor N.W. have the short passage of R. 74, 11-13, wherein Śavarī calls Rama " *devavara*."

B. *Matter absent from the Southern recension and present in one or both of the others.*

65. In the North-Western recension, Agastya tells Rāma the story of the *Daṇḍaka forest*. Cf. N.W. 17, 10ff. This is absent in the corresponding sargas of R. and B. It has been taken by the compilers of N.W. from the Uttarakāṇḍa, where it originally belonged. Cf. R. VII, sargas 79 to 81.

66. In the survey of Rāvaṇa-carita given by Śurpaṇakhā, she mentions that Rāvaṇa practised penance at *Gokarṇa* and that he obtained the gift of *kāmarūpatva*. Cf. B. 36, 18b-22 and N.W. 36. These two details are absent in R. 32.

67. Both B. and N.W. have two extra sargas, regarding the *Rāvaṇa-Mārīca-saṃvāda*, which are absent in R.

B. 46 and N.W. 45 : More objections of Mārīca to Rāvaṇa's proposal.

B. 47 and N.W. 46 : Rāvaṇa assures Mārīca that he has nothing to fear from Rāma.

C. *Other Differences.*

68. *Virādha*. The Southern recension mentions that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are carried away by Virādha, that Virādha is invulnerable by weapons and that he is thrown alive in a pit. Cf. R. 3 and 4. These details are absent in Both B. 8 and N.W. 5. On the other hand, both B. and N.W. have some details missing in R: that Virādha vomited *white* blood, that his name was formerly *Tumburu* and that he assumes *divyarūpa* to go to heaven.

69. *Jaṭāyu*. The three recensions have the first meeting with Jaṭāyu, his speech on Prajāpati and his promise to protect Sītā. Cf. R. 14; B. 20 and N.W. 19. In the Bengal recension (Cf. B. 23, 3-10), Jaṭāyu asks to go home and visit his friends

and relations. This is evidently added to explain Jaṭāyu's inactivity and carelessness before the tragedy. In both the Southern (Cf. R. 43) and the North-Western (Cf. N.W. 48) recension, Rāma, before starting on his hunt of the golden deer, recommends Sītā to Lakṣmaṇa and *Jaṭāyu*. This, naturally, is absent in B., since Jaṭāyu's departure for home has been explicitly mentioned (Cf. B. 23). In the Southern recension alone does Sītā address the sleeping Jaṭāyu, and give him a message for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Cf. R. 49, 36-40. The three recensions agree again, when Jatāyu awakens and challenges Rāvaṇa. Cf. R. 50; B. 56 and N.W. 55.

70. *Rāma's divine prowess.* One verse in R. 66, 19 refers to Rāma's divine and human prowess, whereas, in the other recensions, Rāma's prowess and his divine and human weapons are referred to. Cf. B. 71 and N.W. 72.

70 bis. B. only mentions that owing to Raṃa's *Gāndharva-weapon*, the Rākṣasas see in their comrades the image of Rāma and kill one another. Cf. B. 31,46b-47.

71. *Description of the Pampā lake.* This description is much longer in R. 75, 13-50 than in N.W. 81, whereas it is entirely absent in the corresponding sarga of the Bengal recension. Cf. B. 78. In the following sarga too, the 130 ślokas of this description in the Southern recension (Cf. R. IV, 1) are condensed to 51 ślokas in the Bengal recension (Cf. B. III, 79) and to 59 ślokas in N.W. III, 79.

Kiskindhā-Kāṇḍa

A. *Matter present in the Southern recension, and absent from one or both of the others.*

72. Rāma's reference to *Hanumān's excellence of speech* and his study of grammar. Cf. R. 3, 28-38.
Absent in both B. 2 and N.W. 2.

73. After the conclusion of the friendship between Rāma and Sugrīva, the Southern recension has some verses, absent in both B. 4 and N.W. 4 wherein *Sugrīva tells Rāma* about the wrong done by Vāli and Rāma promises to help him. Cf. R. 5, 17b-31.

74. A full sarga, wherein *Hunumān consoles Tārā.* Cf. R. 21 and B. 23.
Absent in N.W.

75. The Southern recension has a sarga with *Sugrīva's repentance* after Vāli's death and Rāma's consolation of Tārā. Cf. R. 24.

Absent in both B. and N.W.

76. Three fairly long *descriptions* are proper to the Southern recension.

(*a*) The description of the Prasravaṇagiri. Cf. R. 7, 5-30. Absent in both B. 26 and N.W. 20.

(*b*) The description of the rainy season in Triṣṭubh Cf. R. 28, 14-52. Absent in B. 27 and only partly present in N.W. 21.

(*c*) The description of the Autumn in Triṣṭubh. Cf. R. 30, 28-57. Absent in both B. 29 and N.W. 23.

77. *Tārā-Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvāda.* When the angry Lakṣmaṇa arrives at the palace, Sugriva sends Tārā to pacify him. Cf. R. 33, 25-62.

Absent in both B. 33 and N.W. 26.

78. A full sarga absent in the North-Western recension. *Rāma expresses his hope of success*; the *arrival of the monkey-host.* Cf. R. 39 and B. 43. The Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī has matter corresponding to this sarga; Cf. vv 201-212.

B. *Matter absent from the Southern recension and present in one or both of the others.*

79. *Rāvaṇa's defeat at the hands of Vāli.* Cf. B. 10. This is absent in the Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa of both R. and N.W. and has been taken from the Uttarakāṇḍa. Cf. R. VII, 34.

80. *Tārā-vākyam.* Sarga 11 in N.W. Tārā pleading with Vāli not to fight. Nothing new. This is present in B. 14, 25-32 and 15, 5-9; the Southern recension has no corresponding lines.

81. When told by Lakṣmaṇa to go to Rāma, *Sugrīva expresses apprehension*; Hanumān reassures him. Cf. B. 38, 6-22 and N.W. 31. No corresponding matter in the Southern recension.

82. Part of the *description of the northern quarter* is absent in R. 43, where the whole description takes 61 ślokas only; B. has 130 ślokas. The following mountains beyond Maināka are mentioned by B. and N.W. and not by R.: Triśṛṅga, Gandhamādana, Mandara and Bahuketu. Cf. B. 44, 46-77 and N.W. 36.

83. *The arrival of Supārśva.* C. B. 62 and N. W. 55, 19ff. Absent in R. 63. Sampāti, being asked by Jāmbavān for help to cross the sea, answers that personaly he is incapable and calls his son mentally (manasāsmarat). · Thereupon Supārśva arrives and proposes to Aṅgada to take him across the sea on his back. Aṅgada declines and says that now their courage is restored.

84. *Dhavala-vadha.* Hanumān relates that his father killed a *diggaja, Dhavala* by name (*Śaṅkhaśavala* in N,W. and Sankhadhavala in the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī), who was molesting the Ṛṣis. He obtained a boon and chose a son: *Mārutavikrama, kāmarūpī* and *avyaya.* Then follows once more the story of Añjanā, who bore a son from Māruta. Cf.B.V, 3, 7-31; N.W. IV, 58. Absent in R.IV, 67.

85. *Hanumanmangalam,* The monkeys praise Hanumān's prowess (Cf.N.W.IV, 59); placed immediately after Hanuman's speech.

Absent in R.IV, 67 and B.V. 3, and also in the Rāmāyana-mañjarī.

C. Other Differences.

86. *Tārāvilāpa.* More extensive in B. and N.W. than in the Southern recension. One sarga with *26* Ślokas in the Southern recension (Cf. R. 20) corresponds to two sargas in both B and N.W., with 49 and 69 ślokas respectively. Cf. B 19-20; N.W. 15, 29-61 and sarga 16.

87. *Supārśvā* told his father Sampāti that, as he was looking down and watched the Mahendra mountain-pass, he saw somebody *going* on his way. Cf. R. 59, 14.

Tatra kaścin-mayā dṛṣṭaḥ sūryodaya-sama-prabhām
striyam-ādāya gacchan-vai bhinnāñjanacayo-pamaḥ

The line suggests that Rāvaṇa was travelling on foot through the pass; this was changed in both B. 61, 41 and N.W. 51, 16, where the beginning of the seeond line reads: Khamāvṛtya-abhidhāvamś-ca.

88. In the Southern Version, when his wings have grown, *Sampāti* addresses the monkeys, attributing his recovery to the Ṛṣi Niśākara and assuring them of success in their search for Sītā. He then flies up and disappears. Cf. R. 63, 9ff.

In the other recensions, when they see that Sampāti's wings have grown, the monkeys praise Rāma to whose greatness the recovery is due. A voice from heaven answers:

evam-etat. Sampāti flies up, then returns to give directions to the monkeys, and finally flies to the Himalayas, his home. Cf. B. 63 and N.W. 55.

Sundara-Kāṇḍa.

A. *Matter present in the Southern recension, and absent from one or both of the others.*

89. Hanumān's encounter with the goddess *personified Laṅkā.* Cf. R. 3, 20-51 Absent in both B. 9 and N.W. 2.

90. Description of *Rāvaṇa's palace and Puṣpaka.* Cf. R. 7 and 8. Present in N.W., but cut out by Gorresio as an interpolation although present in B. Mss.

91. Before entering the Aśokavana, *Hanumān reveres the gods,* putting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on the same level as the gods apparently. Cf. R. 13, 54-67 and N.W. 8, 64-77. Absent in B. 15.

92. The śloka mentioning that Sītā will come to the river to perform *Sandhyā.* Cf. R. 14, 49 and N.W. 9, 58. Absent in B. 16. (Vaidya)

93. Sītā placing a *blade of grass* between her and Rāvaṇa. Cf. R. 21, 2; N.W. 16, 3. Absent in B.

94. *Various Rākṣasīs,* mentioned by name, try to talk round Sītā. Cf. R. 23; N.W. 18. Absent in B.

95. Sītā *mistakes Hanumān for Rāvaṇa.* Cf. R. 34, 9-10; N.W. 28, 11-12. Absent in B.

96. Destruction of the *Caityaprāsāda.* Cf. R. 43. Absent in both B. and N.W.

B. *Matter absent from the southern recension, and present in one or both of the others.*

97. Hanumān *describes the moon setting* and the sun rising. Cf. N.W. 11, 19-48. Absent in the corresponding sargas of the other recensions: R. 16 and B. 19.

98. *Hanumān praising Rāma* in order to convince Sītā. Cf. B. 33, 1-13a. Partially present in N.W. 31, but absent in R.

99. *Sītā's message to Rāma.* After Hanumān has asked for a token of recognition (Abhijñānam), Sītā does not immediately relate the crow-episode but first gives a fairly long message to Rāma. She describes her miserable condition, and appeals to Rāma to deliver her: the valiant protect their

wives etc. Cf. B. 36, 11-30 This is absent in R. 38 and N.W. 34.

100. The *garden-keeper's report* to Rāvaṇa. Cf. B. 39, 1-14. Absent in both R and N.W.

101. *Saramāvākyam,* Saramā describes the burning of Laṅkā to Sītā. Cf. B. 52 and N.W. 51. Absent in the Southern recension only.

102. Hanumān *relates his encounter with Surasā..* Cf. B. 56, 15-39. No corresponding verses in either R. 58 or N.W. 56.

C. *Other Differences.*

103. The beginning of the first sarga in the Southern version (Cf. R. 1, 1-50: the *shaking of Mt. Mahendra* and its effect on the animals) has little corresponding to it in B. and N.W.

104. *Description of Sītā* is longer in both R. and N.W. than in B. So much so that R. 15, 41-54 and R. 17, 26-32 has nothing corresponding to it in B. 18 and 17. These verses are to be found in N.W. 10 and 12.

105. *Sītā-Vilāpa.* Shorter in B. than in the other recensions. Nothing in B. corresponds to R. 26, 28b-47; R. 28, 11-19. Both passages are found in N.W. 20 and 22.

106. *The Crow-episode* (described differently from the version as given in the interpolated canto after R. II, 95) is given again in R. 38, 21-37. This is present in N.W. 35, but very little of it is given in B. 36.

107. A *passage of Sītā-Hanumān-samvāda* is found three times in both R. and N.W., and only twice in B. Sītā asks Hanumān to stay for one day, expresses apprehension as to the ultimate success of the war and is reassured by Hanumān. This occurs a first time, before the Laṅkā-dahana, in both R. 39, 19ff and N.W. 36, 19ff, but is absent from the corresponding sarga in B. 37. It occurs again in R. 56 and 68 and also in the corresponding sargas of the other versions.

108. The three recensions give *Hanumān's warning to Rāvaṇa,* but a long passage of R. is absent in both B. and N.W. In that passage Hanumān refers to Rāma's capacity of creating the worlds anew, to his valour being equal to that of Viṣṇu, to his being the leader of the three worlds, and ends by saying that neither Rudra, nor Brahmā, nor Indra can face Rāma in the fight. Cf. R. 51, 39-45.

109. A long passage in the *description of Laṅkādahana* according to the Southern recension (Cf. R. 54, 30-50) has nothing corresponding to it in either B. or N.W.

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa.

A. *Matter present in the Southern recension, and absent from one or both of the others.*

110. A group of six sargas, relating to the *second council held of Rāvaṇa,* is entirely absent from B, and partly absent from N.W.

(*a*) R. 10. The morning after the first council, Vibhīṣaṇa repeats his warnings to Rāvaṇa and his councillors, mentioning the bad omens discernible at Laṅkā. Present in N.W. V. 76.

(*b*) R. 11. Rāvaṇa proceeds to the Council-hall. Absent in both B. and N.W.

(*c*) R. 12. Kumbhakarṇa blames Rāvaṇa, but promises help. Absent in both B. and N.W.

(*d*) R. 13. When Mahāpārśva suggests to overcome Sītā's objections by force, Rāvaṇa reveals the curse of Pitāmaha, because of Puñjikasthalā. Absent in both the other recensions.

(*e*) R. 14. Vibhīṣaṇa repeats his warnings. Present in N.W. V. 87, and longer than in R.

(*f*) R. 15. Vibhīṣaṇa called a coward by Indrajit. Present in N.W. V. 86.

111. *Rāvaṇa's spies.*—The Southern version has duplicated the incidents. In R. 20, a spy, Śārdūla by name, reports to Rāvaṇa. A second spy, Śuka, is sent, caught, and released by Rāma. In R. 24 we have Śuka's report to Rāvaṇa. These two sargas are entirely absent from the other recensions. All three agree regarding the next mention of the spies in R. 25 to 30.

112. The subject-matter of R. 22 is entirely absent from B, but partly present in N.W.

(*a*) R. 22, 1-17. The commotion when *Rāma draws his bow.* Present in N.W. V. 96.

(*b*) R. 22, 25-40. The destruction of *Drumakulya* by Brahmāstra. Present in N.W. V. 96, where we find Timikūla and in the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī (v. 241), Kṛmikūla.

(*c*) R. 22, 78-85 Sugrīva proposes that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa climb on the backs of Hanumān and Aṅgada. Absent in both B. and N̄.W.

113. *Omens* (nimittāni) before the fight. Cf. R. 23. Absent in both B. and N̄.W.

114. *Sugrīva-Rāvaṇa-yuddha*. Rāma and Sugrīva climb Mt. Suvela; Sugrīva engages Rāvaṇa and has to flee. Rāma scolds Sugrīva for his rashness. Cf. R. 40 and 41, 1-10. Absent in both B and N̄.W.

115. *Sally of Vajradaṁṣṭra* against Aṅgada, from the South-gate. Aṅgada kills many. Duel Aṅgada-Vajradaṁṣṭra, wherein the latter is killed. Absent in both B and N.W. Cf. R. 53-54.

116. Reference to the *curses against Rāvaṇa* by Anaraṇya, Vedavatī, Umā, N̄andīśvara, Rambhā and Varuṇa's daughter (Puñjikasthalā). Cf. R. 60, 8-12 The Bengal recension mentions the curse of N̄andi only. Cf. B. 37, 8; N.W. 38 mentions none at all.

117. Encounter *Lakṣmaṇa-Kumbhakarṇa*. Cf. R. 67, 98-115 Missing in both B. 46 and N̄.W. 46.

118. *Rāvaṇa lamenting* and advising watchfulness. Cf. R. 72. N̄othing in B. or N̄.W.

119. *The hymn to the Sun*, given by Agastya to Rāma. Cf. R. 105. Missing in both B. and N̄.W.

120. *Vibhīṣaṇa's lament* on Rāvaṇa's death. Cf. R. 109; B. 93. Missing in N̄.W., but given all the same in a footnote after N̄.W. 90.

121. Sītā asks Rāma to take *Tārā* and other wives of leading monkeys *to Ayodhyā*. Cf. R. 123, 23b-38a. Missing in both B. 108 and N̄.W. 104.

B. *Matter absent from the Southern version, and present in one or both of the others.*

122. *Nikaṣā-Vākyam*. After Rāma's lament at the seashore (Cf. R. VI, 5), both B and N̄.W. insert a sarga, wherein N̄ikaṣā appeals to her son Vibhīṣaṇa to bring Rāvaṇa to his senses. Cf. B. V. 76; N̄.W. V. 75.

123. In the Southern recension the meeting of *Rāvaṇa's council* is adjourned in VI. 9. In the other recensions the meeting continues and is described in seven sargas of the Bengal recension. The subject matter of these sargas is present in N̄.W., but entirely absent in R.

B. V. 81, 1-31. Rāvaṇa answers Vibhīṣaṇa and asks the opinion of his councillors. Cf. N.W. 81.

B. V. 81, 32-55. Prahasta-vākyam. Cf. N.W. 82.

B. V. 82 Mahodara-vākyam. Cf. N.W. 83.

B. V. 83 Virūpākṣa-vākyam. Cf. N.W. 84.

B. V. 84 Vibhīṣaṇa-vākyam. Cf. N.W. 85. He repeats his advice to give back Sītā.

B. V. 85 Rāvaṇa-vākyam. Cf. N.W. 86. He extols courage and sneers at cowardice.

B. V. 86 Vibhīṣaṇa-vākyam. Cf. N.W. 89. Sayings on on Nīti; he mentions his resolve to go to Rāma.

B. V. 87 Rāvaṇa, in a towering rage, kicks Vibhīṣaṇa, who falls on the ground and repeats his intention to leave Rāvaṇa. Cf. N.W. 90, 1-28.

Then follows Vibhīṣaṇa's departure, wherein the three recensions agree. Cf. R. VI, 16; B.V, 88 and N.W. V. 90, 29-81.

124. *Vibhīṣaṇa's visit to his mother.* This is entirely absent in R., mentioned in B. 89, 4, and fully described in N.W. 91, 4-62. Vibhīṣaṇa narrates what happened in the council; Nikaṣā consoles him by saying that eventually Rāma will give him the kingdom of Laṅkā.

125. *Vibhīṣaṇa's visit to Kailāsa.* Leaving Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa visits his brother Vaiśravaṇa at Kailāsa. Both Vaiśravaṇa and Śiva, who happens to be there, advise Vibhīṣaṇa to go to Rāma, who will eventually defeat Rāvaṇa and give Laṅkā to Vibhīṣaṇa. Cf. B.V, 89, 5-42a. This is entirely absent from N.W. and R.

126. The friendship of *Daśaratha and Sāgara,* mentioned in B. 94, 21-22, is fully described by Sāgara in N.W. 96, 46-68. Fighting for the gods, Daśaratha obtained a boon and asked for a son. He was told he would get four.

127. Two sargas entirely absent in both R. and B. *Samudra appears after the Setubandha* and provides Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with mailcoat and weapons. Rāma having reached Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa calls his councillors. Meghanāda, Prahasta, Dhūmrākṣa and Mahodara, all boast and assure Rāvaṇa of victory. Atikāya advises to return Sītā. Cf. N.W. V. 99-100.

128. The story of the *origin of Vāli and Sugrīva,* taken from R. VII, 37, Pr. 1 and put in the mouth of Śuka in both

B. VI, 4, 30-50 and N.W. 4. Absent in the corresponding sarga of the Southern recension, R. VI, 23.

129. *Sugrīva-garjanam.* Sugrīva tells the army to go away, all of them, except Hanumān ; with him he will kill Rāvaṇa. Cf. B. VI, 25, 27-41. Absent in both R. and N.W.

130. *Nārada-vākyam.* After Suṣeṇa has given the advice to fetch the herbs, Nārada arrives, reminds Rāma that he is Nārāyaṇa, and tells him to think of Garuḍa who will come to his aid. Cf. N.W. 27, 7-41. Entirely absent in both R. and B.

131. *Maṇḍodarī-vākyam.* After the death of Prahasta, Rāvaṇa intends to enter the battle-field. Maṇḍodarī hears this and with the councillors approaches Rāvaṇa and pleads with him to make peace with Rāma, who is not a mere man. Cf. B. 33; N.W. 35.

Rāvaṇa-vākyam. To this Rāvaṇa answers that he has defeated the gods before and will defeat Rāma too. Cf. B. 34 and N.W. 36.

132. *Kumbhakarṇa's speech and Rāvaṇa's answer.* Absent in R. only. After Rāvaṇa has told Kumbhakarṇa that he needs help and not advice, B. and N.W, relate a speech by Kumbhakarṇa. Nārada one day told him he had just come from a council of the gods where the death of Rāvaṇa had been planned by an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This Rāma has now come to kill us. Let us make peace. Cf.B. 40, 30b-53; N.W. 41, 33b-56. Rāvaṇa answers: I will become an object of ridicule if I give back Sītā now. Besides, I do not fear Viṣṇu; I have defeated the gods before. He ends by saying that he desires to be killed by Viṣṇu and thus enter Heaven : Nihato gantum-icchāmi tad-viṣṇoḥ paramam padam. Cf.B. 41; N.W. 42, 1-24.

133. *Kumbhakarṇa, meeting Vibhīṣaṇa* on the battlefield praises him for his wisdom in taking refuge with Rāma. Cf. N.W 46, 82-91.

Absent in both R. and B.

134. *The fetching of the herbs by Hanumān,* as given in R. 101, is described at much greater length in both B. and N.W. The following details are missing in the Southern version.

(*a*) *Bharata* is on the point of shooting down Hanumān, when the latter reveals his identity and relates Rāma's deeds. This is absent in N.W.Cf. B. 82, 90ff.

(*b*) *Kālanemi* has been sent by Rāvaṇa to kill Hanumān. Cf.B. 82, 64ff. Kālanemi takes the appearance of an ascetic in an āśrama on Mt. Gandhamādana; he brings Hanumān to a lake where a crocodile (grāhī) attacks him and is killed by him. The grāhī then takes the shape of an apsarā and tells her story. She is Gandhakālī, cursed by a muni. Hanumān then returns to the āśrama and kills Kālanemi. Cf.B. 82, 142ff. This is present in N.W. 81.

(*c*) Hanumān is challenged by the *Gandharvas, the subjects* of Hāhā and Hūhū and kills three koṭis of them in B. 83, but only 24,000 in N.W. 81.

(*d*) Hanumān brings back the mountain, *killing the Rākṣasas*, sent by Rāvaṇa. Cf.B. 84; N.W. 81.

(*e*) In the North-Western recension, an interpolated sarga, given after N.W. 81, relates again the replacing of the mountain. This is absent in B.

135. *Maṇḍodarī-Keśa-Grahaṇam.* After Lakṣmaṇa has been revived, Rāma asks where Rāvaṇa is. Vibhīṣaṇa reveals that he is performing Homa, which it is imperative to disturb. Otherwise he will, through a boon given by Śiva, obtain a celestial chariot and an impenetrable mailcoat and become invincible. Rāma sends Hanumān, Aṅgada and some other generals. Unable to make Rāvaṇa angry, Hanumān tells Aṅgada, to bring Maṇḍodarī. Aṅgada pulling Maṇḍodari by the hair brings her on the spot and challenges Rāvaṇa. This finally enrages Rāvaṇa, who knocks down Aṅgada. In the meantime, the other monkeys destroy the sacrifice and flee. Cf. N.W. 82.

This is absent in both R. and B.

C. Other differences.

136. Both B. 90 and N.W. 98 mention that Sugrīva objected to accepting Vibhīṣaṇa. His objections are given in R. 18, 4-21, and have nothing corresponding to them in B. and N.W.

137. The description of the building of the bridge is much longer in N. W. V, 97-98 than in the corresponding sargas of R. VI, 22 and B.V. 95. One passage of N.W. V. 97, 35-53 has nothing carresponding to it in either R. or B.

138. A passage in N.W. VI, 27-52 mentions the *names of various warriors* duelling. Nothing corresponding to these verses in either R. 42 or B. 17.

138 bis. The verse in R. 50, 22 where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to be Garuḍādhiṣṭhitau is omitted in both B. 25 and N.W. 26.

139. *The awakening of Kumbhakarṇa.* In the Southern recension, a thousand elephants finally succeed in rousing Kumbhakarṇa from his sleep. *Cf.* R. 60, 55.

In the other recensions, even the elephants are unsuccessful. Then, young women are called in, who with the tinkling of their ornaments, singing, musical instruments, scent and various touches, succeed in awakening him. *Cf.* B. 37, 55-63 and N.W. 38, 54-62.

140. *The various fights of Indrajit.* In the Southern recension, Indrajit enters the battlefield five times; these fights are all recorded in the other recensions too and very much in the same words; but several passages of R. are placed elsewhere in B. and N.W. and some are absent.

(*a*) First fight in R. 44ff. corresponds to B. 20ff. and N.W. 21ff.

(*b*) Second fight in R. 73 corresponds to B. 52 and N.W. 53. A long passage (R. 73, 26-50) is absent in the corresponding sargas of B. and N.W., but many verses are placed in the third fight of these recensions.

(*c*) Third fight in R. 80 has two parts.
R. 80, 1-12 which is present in N.W. 58, 1-11 and absent in B.
R. 80, 13-43. This has been placed just before the first fight in both the other recensions (*Cf.* B.19, 40-75; N.W. 20). Instead, both B. and N.W. have as third fight, a passage wherein many verses are taken from R. 73, 26-50. *Cf.* B. 59 and N.W. 58, 16-40.

(*d*) Fourth fight. Indrajit decapitates an illusory Sītā and the ensuing fight. *Cf.* R. 81ff. The other recensions agree. *Cf.* B. 60 and N.W. 59.

(*e*) Fifth fight. Indrajit's sacrifice at Nikumbhilā; duel with Lakṣmaṇa and death of Indrajit. *Cf.* R. 84ff. The other recensions agree; one passage in

R. 90, 4-31 is not found in the corresponding sargas B. 70 and N.W. 69.

141. A passage of *Rāma's lament* in R. 101, 12-22 is absent in B. 82, but present in N.W. 81.

142. *Maṇḍodarī's lament* is longer in R. 111, where 126 ślokas are given ; B. 95-96 has 82 ślokas and N.W. 92 has 63 ślokas only. Nothing in N.W. corresponds to B. 96 and R. 111, 112b-120. The verses of R. which refer to Rāma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu are either absent or put differently in B. and N.W.

143. *Daśaratha addressing Rāma* after the death of Rāvaṇa, says that now he knows from the gods that Rāma is the hidden Puruṣottama for the destruction of Rāvaṇa: Idānīṁ ca vijānāmi yathā saumya sureśvaraiḥ-vadhārtham rāvaṇasyeha pihitaṁ Puruṣottamam. *Cf.* R. 119, 17. The Bengal recension seems to have preserved the original version: Idānīṁ......etc..... . . . rāvaṇasya tvaṁ vanavāsāya dīkṣitaḥ. *Cf.* B. 104, 18b-19a. Besides the reading of B., the N.W. Mss have also as ending.....tvamiha caivāvatāritaḥ. All three recensions have the passage wherein Daśaratha addresses Lakṣmaṇa and refers clearly to Rāma's divine nature. *Cf.* N.W. 100.

144. *The reference to Mahādeva* in R. 123 is missing in both B. 108 and N.W. 104 (Vaidya).

R. 123, 20 reads: Atra pūrvam Mahādevaḥ prasādam-akaron-mama.

B. 108, 22 reads : Atrāhaṁ śayito devi kuśāstīrnaṁ mahītale.

145. *The Phalastuti* in R. 128, 110-122 and N.W. 110 is longer than in B. 113. The śloka R. 128, 117 referring to Rāma being Viṣṇu is absent in B, but present in N.W.

Uttara - Kāṇḍa.

A.—Matter present in the Southern recension and missing from either or both of the others

146. The consolation of Lakṣmaṇa by Sumantra is found in the three recensions, but the Southern recension adds a passage giving the reason of Sītā's repudiation: *the curse of Bhṛgu,* whose wife was killed by Viṣṇu. *Cf.* R. 51, 11-19a.

This is absent in B., but given in a footnote to N.W. 53.

The fact that Viṣṇu killed Bhṛgu's wife without any reference to the curse, is used as an argument by Viśvāmitra to

overcome Rama's objections to the killing of Tāḍakā. *Cf.* R.I, 25, 21. This found in B. also (*Cf.* B. I, 28, 20).

In the interpolated sargas of the Southern version we find some more matter absent in the other recensions.

147. The first interpolated sarga after R. 23 has a passage, wherein Rāvaṇa tries in vain to lift an *ornament of one of Bali's ancestors.* *Cf.* R. 23 Pr. 1, 53-69.

Absent in both B. 28 and N̄.W. 27.

148. Rāvaṇa's *journey to sūryaloka.* *Cf.* R. 23 Pr. 2.

Absent in B. and N̄.W.

149. The *five interpolated sargas after R.* 37 are all absent in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Bengal version; they are given in a footnote to N̄.W. 39. Their subject-matter is as follows:

The birth of Vāli and Sugrīva (*Cf.* R. 37 Pr. 1). This is found in the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the other versions. *Cf.* B.VI, 4 and N̄.W. VI, 4 Rāvaṇa stole Sītā because anxious to be killed by Viṣṇu and so reach heaven. *Cf.* R. 37 Pr. 2-4.

Rāvaṇa tossed about by the women of Śvetadvīpa. *Cf.* " 37 Pr. 5.

B.—Matter absent from the Southern version and present in one or both of the others

Nil.

C.—Other differences.

150. *The defeat of Rāvaṇa* by Arjuna Kārtavīrya and by Vāli is placed much earlier in the other recensions than in the Southern recension. *Cf.* R. 31 to 34. The others place this matter after sarga 19.

151. *The Phalastuti* is much longer in R. 111 than in N̄.W. 112; it is missing in B. 111.

152. *Rebuilding Ayodhyā.* R. 111, 10 mentions that king Ṛṣabha will rebuild Ayodhyā, whereas N̄.W. 112, 30 replaces Ṛṣabha by Kuśa. The Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī, here, follows R. against N̄.W. (*Cf.* V. 1261). It is possible that, later on, the N̄.W. Mss were brought into line with the far more popular Raghuvaṁśa, where it is Kuśa who restores the city to her former splendour. *Cf.* Raghuvaṁśa, sarga 16. As noted under No. 151, this sarga is missing in the Bengal recension.

C.—Genesis of the Recensions

The comparison of the three recensions from the point of view of the subject-matter gives very clear indications as regards the genesis of these recensions.

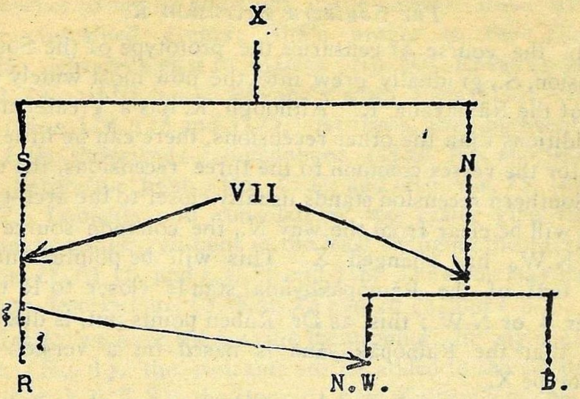
It is obvious, first of all, that both N̄.W. and B. are very closely connected and go back to a common source. Calling X the archtype of the three recensions, *i.e.* the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa at the time of the bifurcation, we may say that X originally split up into S, the prototype of the Southern recension, and N̄, the common source of the N̄orth-Western and Bengal recensions.

It is, further, very striking that the Uttarakāṇḍa shows no differences worth mentioning. This justifies the assumption that the Uttarakāṇḍa is not only the work of later interpolators but also that, contrary to what Dr. W. Ruben seems to think (*Cf.* Studien zur Text-Geschichte des Rāmāyaṇa Stuttgart. 1936, p. 60), it must have been composed after the bifurcation of the recensions into N̄. and S. had taken place. If the Uttarakāṇḍa had been part and parcel of the archtype X, it would inevitably have undergone the same modifications as the other Kāṇḍas. The absence of any important differences can only be explained by the fact that it was written much later and added to both N and S, very little before these recensions were written down and thus more or less textually fixed.[1]

A third indication is worth mentioning at the outset, namely, that the N.W. recension contains much matter which is not to be found in B. but is present in R. This means that the N̄.W. recension, at least as printed at Lahore, is contaminated from S.

These preliminary remarks give us the following pedigree, in which VII stands for the Uttarakāṇḍa :

1. The argument given by Dr. M. Winternitz to prove that the whole Rāmāyaṇa, including the Uttarakāṇḍa, was completed by the 2nd century A.D. is cogent only for Kāṇḍas I-VI. The Mahābhārata has extremely little matter from the Uttarakāṇḍa: the story of Rāvaṇa at the beginning of the Rāmopākhyāna (III. 259 Poona ed.) and a solitary reference to Śambūka-Vadha in a late book (Cf. XII, 152, 67). Kālidāsa, however, certainly knew the Uttarakāṇḍa, substantially as it is now.



The Arch-type X.

It is probable that Vālmīki wrote his immortal epic round about 300 B.C. (*Cf.* J.R.A.S. 1915, p. 318) or at the latest during the 3rd century B.C. (*Cf.* M. Winternitz H.I.L. I, 516). It is generally admitted that it contained the matter corresponding to the actual Kāṇḍas II-VI only, the Bālakāṇḍa and the Uttarakāṇḍa being later additions.

The comparative table shows that the Bālakāṇḍa underwent the same fate as the other Kāṇḍas; this justifies the assumption that it was already added to the Rāmāyaṇa when the bifurcation into N. and S. recensions took place. The Uttarakāṇḍa, however, was not part and parcel of the archtype X, for the reason given above.

Dr. W. Ruben's method to reconstruct the archtype would be to treat as interpolations those verses which occur in one recension only, and to keep those absent in one recension only (*Cf.* o.c. p. 53). As mentioned already, the N.W. recension, as printed at Lahore, is contaminated from S.; consequently the verses common to N.W. and R. and absent in B. should be treated as occurring is one recension only.

This archtype so reconstructed would, according to Dr. W. Ruben, count more or less 12,000 ślokas, which corresponds to the extent of the Rāmāyaṇa, as given by the Buddhist Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā, dating from the first half of the third century A.D. (*Cf.* J.R.A.S. 1907, p. 99ff.).

The archtype X contained, therefore, substantially the Kāṇḍas I-VI and may have gradually shaded into two recensions from the first centuries A.D. Dr. W. Ruben puts it in the 2nd century A.D., but it is hazardous to fix definite dates.

The Southern Recension R.

In the course of centuries the prototype of the Southern recension, S., gradually grew into the now most widely spread text of the Rāmāyaṇa, R. Although R. has a greater number of additions than the other recensions, there can be little doubt that for the verses common to the three recensions, the text of the Southern recension stands usually closer to the arch-type X. This will be clear from the way N., the common source of B. and N.W., has changed X. This will be pointed out later. The text of the Rāmopākhyāna stands closer to R. than to either B. or N.W.; this, as Dr. Ruben points out, is due to the fact that the Rāmopākhyāna is based on a version of the prototype X.

Among the additions found in R., a few are also present in B. Two of these, Rāma's answer to Jābāli (No. 29) and the arrival of the monkey-army (No. 78), are present in the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī, which is based on a N.W. codex. The thrust at Kaikeyī (No. 59) may have been suppressed intentionally, as Kaikeyī belonged to the North-West. We are thus left with three additions only, none of which brings new subject-matter: a sarga describing how Bharata refuses the kingdom (No. 44), Hanumān consoling Tārā (No. 74) and part of Maṇḍodarī's lament (No. 142).

As already commented on above, we find a long list of additions in R., which are also in N.W. Besides, from the Āraṇya Kāṇḍa onwards, the text of N.W. is often closer to R. than to B. Thus whole sargas are common to R. and N.W., *Cf.* Nos. 28, 61 (a), 94, 110 (a.e.f.); or fairly characteristic incidents, as Rāma drawing his bow and destroying Drumakulya *Cf.* No. 112 (a.b.) and also Nos. 3, 22, 76 (b), 91, 93, 95, 151. Other places where N.W. agrees with R. against B. are Nos. 104, 105, 106, 107, 140 (c), 141, 145, 146 and 149. This long list certainly justifies the conclusion that N.W. is contaminated from R. or, to put it more accurately, from S.

The major part of the additions in R, however, are proper to the Southern recension. Among those, the following incidents are noteworthy: the visit of the exiles to Vālmīki (No. 26), the mutilation of Ayomukhī (No 62), Tārā being sent to pacify Lakṣmaṇa (No. 77), Hanumān's encounter with personified Laṅkā (No. 89), the hymn to the Sun given to Rāma by Agastya (No. 119), and the wives of the leading monkeys going to Ayodhyā (No. 121).

Another group of additions is the result of duplication of already described events: Sītā's prayer to the Yamunā (No. 25), Rāvaṇa's visit to Mārīca (No. 60), Rāvaṇa's second council (No. 110 b.c.), Rāvaṇa's spies (No. 111), various fights (Nos. 114, 115 and 117). At times, existing events are more fully described: Laṅkādahana (Nos. 109 and 96), the omens before the fight (No. 113), and also Nos. 73, 140 (e) and 27. Laments and consolations too easily give rise to additional passages, without in the least changing the narrative, *Cf.* Nos. 21, 61 (b. and c.), 75 and 118. The same may be said of nature-descriptions, *Cf.* Nos. 23 and 76 (a. and c.).

Finally, we have the passage mentioning the signs of the Zodiac (No. 1), the pauranic stories added to the Bālakāṇḍa (Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), the story of how Kaikeyī's mother was abandoned by her husband (No. 20), the condemnation of Buddha (No. 30), Hanumān's study of grammar (No. 72), the curses given to Rāvaṇa (Nos. 110 d. and 116) and some minor points (*Cf.* Nos. 24, 64, 112 c., 147 and 148).

The Northern Prototype N.

The existence of this common source of B. and N.W: is proved by the numerous additions common to both B. and N.W. and the still greater number of passages where B. and N.W. agree against R.

Dr. S. Levi has studied various works where the Dig-varṇana of the Vālmikī Rāmāyaṇa (*Cf.* R. IV, 41 ff.) is copied and comes to the conclusion that the 236th Chapter of the Harivaṁśa, describing the earthquake caused by Hiraṇya-kaśyipu, comes closer to N.W. and B. (*i.e.* to N.) than to R., whereas the author of the Buddhist Sad-dharma-smṛty-upākhyāna-sūtra, translated in 539 A.D. into Chinese, gives a description of the Jambūdvīpa, which proves that he read the Rāmāyaṇa in a recension of the North-Western type. (*Cf.* J. A. 1918, 1ff.).

This seems to prove that the Northern Prototype, which may have come into existence some time after 1 A.D., perhaps in the 2nd century, underwent a further evolution, which by the 6th cent. had produced the Bengal and the North-West recensions.

The far greater number of grammatical irregularities (ārṣa prayoga) in R. when compared to B. and N.W., is sufficient proof that the Southern text stands closer to the

archtype X than the other recensions. The reason given by Dr. H. Jacobi has never been challenged: the bards, although not greatly refined, could not but be influenced by the culture of their times and consequently corrected many grammatical irregularities; this was especially the case in those regions which were centres of classical Sanskrit literature, the East and the West, and consequently the Bengal and N.W. recensions contain relatively few of them. (*Cf.* o. c. p. 9).

The comparative table too shows that the original text was often changed in N, to suit later customs and beliefs or to remove inconsistencies. *Cf.* Nos. 11, 19, 45, 47, 50, 51, 55, 56, 87. Here mention may be made of the third table of contents. *Cf.* No. 9.

The additions common to B. and N.W., which therefore are presumably those of N, may be classified as follows. New incidents: Rāma recommending his mother to Daśaratha (No. 34); the exiles living on lotus-fibres for three days (No. 36); the appearance of Supārśva (No. 83); the intervention of the mother of Rāvaṇa and Vibhīṣaṇa (Nos. 122 and 124); the Kālanemi episode and Hanumān's fight with the Gandharvas (No. 134 b. c. d.); the prolongation of Rāvaṇa's council ending with the kick given to Vibhīṣaṇa (No. 123).

Entirely new subject-matter: No. 31, which is the first of a long list of later attempts to whitewash Kaikeyī; the birth-story of Sītā (No. 58); and the stories of the boons to Hanumān's father (No. 84) and to Daśaratha. (No. 126). A passage describing the Northern quarter gives the names of several Mountains not named in R., and, at one place, matter belonging to the Uttarakāṇḍa has been incorporated into the Yuddhakāṇḍa (No. 128).

The other additions are all the result of explicitation and further description of events either mentioned or implied in the archtype X. Such is the case with the sargas describing Bharata's visit to his maternal grandparents, mentioned in R. (*Cf.* 10), and also with the following Nos: 33, 40, 41, 42, 66, 67, 80, 81, 98, 101, 131 and 132. The same applies to complaints, laments and consolations as found in Nos. 35, 37, 38 and 39.

Finally there is a long list of differences, where N.W. and B. agree against R. and which therefore were presumably belonging to the Northern Prototype N. They are Nos. 12, 13,

14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 46 bis, 48, 52, 53, 54, 57, 68, 86, 88, 103, 104, 138 bis, 139 and 144.

The Bengal Recension B.

The critical edition of the Bengal recension by Gorresio is undoubtedly closer to the Northern Prototype N. than is the North-Western recension, the latter being contaminated from R.

Mention has been made already of the very few instances where B. has matter contained also in R., but absent in N.W. (*Cf.* supra *The Southern Recension R.*). Very little matter is found exclusively in the Bengal recension. New incidents are: Vibhīṣaṇa' s visit to his brother at Kailāsa before coming to Rāma (No. 125); the conversation of Bharata and Hanumān when the latter fetches the healing herbs (No. 134 a.); and Jaṭāyu's leave of absence (No. 69). The other additions are: the list of the Ikṣvāku-vaṁśa kings (No. 43); the effect of Rāma's gāndharva-weapon (No. 70 bis); Sītā's message to Rāma (No. 99); Hanumān relating his encounter with Surasā (No. 102); Sugrīva-garjanam (No. 129); and the garden-keepers' report to Rāvaṇa (No. 100).

Finally, the Bengal recension has omitted the Śloka referring to Sītā's Sandhyā (No. 92) and incorporated into the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa some matter belonging to the Uttarakāṇḍa (*Cf.* No. 79).

The North-Western Recension N.W.

According to S. Levi' s findings, referred to above, this recension, as distinct from the Bengal one, is supposed to have existed already in the sixth century A.D. Kṣemendra, writing in the 12th century, certainly used a codex of the N.W. type. In the long list of the comparative table, there are only five places where the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī disagrees with the N.W. recension. In Nos. 29 and 78 the Rāmāyana-Mañjarī agrees with R. and B., and contains matter entirely absent from the N.W. recension. In Nos. 16 and 17 we have two minor differences, where the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī disagrees with both B. and N.W., and follows the Southern recension. Finally in No. 152, a sarga absent in B., the Rāmāyaṇa-Mañjarī agrees with R. against N.W., where the latter may have been influenced by Kālidāsa. All this goes to show that there never was a rigid separation of the various

recensions; we can only speak of three main types of codices, none of them perhaps being entirely free from contaminations.

We have treated above the matter common to B. and N.W. (*Cf. The Northern Prototype*), and we have already commented on the contaminated nature of the N.W. recension and given the matter common to N.W. and R. (Cf. *The Southern Recension R.*). There remains to describe the matter which exclusively belongs to the N.W. recension.

Incidents exclusive to N.W. are: Samudra presenting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with mailcoat and arms (No. 127); N̄ārada reminding Rāma that he is N̄ārāyaṇa (N̄o. 130); Kumbhakarṇa praising Vibhīṣaṇa on the battlefield (N̄o. 133) and Maṇḍodarī-keśa-grahaṇam (No. 135). The latter is probably borrowed from Vimala Sūri's Paūmacariya (*Cf.* Ch. 68).

N̄ew also is the reason why Kaikeyī was able to help Daśaratha (N̄o. 32) and Hanumanmaṅgalam (N̄o. 85). The rest of the additions, proper to N.W., consist of fuller description or duplication of events present elsewhere, *Cf.* N̄os. 97, 127, 134 (e), 136, 137 and 138. In the Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa of N̄.W. we find the story of the Daṇḍaka forest, taken from the Uttarakāṇḍa (*Cf.* No. 65).

SANSKRIT AND GREEK METRES

By

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I read with great interest Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's paper "Sanskrit metres: Vedic and Classical" in the new Bulletin of the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library, (Vol. I. No. 1. pp. 5-21), and our common interest in metrical matters impels me to write on the subject. I am very much in sympathy with his new approach to the subject, and in particular with his insistence that metrical analysis ought to follow the rhythm of the verse. My own interest in Sanskrit metre—apart from sheer pleasure in these beautiful rhythms, which is a sufficient reward for the sometimes tedious and always elusive business of metrical analysis—is its very close connexion with Greek metre (and Latin—but Latin metre is derivative, borrowed wholesale from Greek). The connexion is so close that in my opinion evidence taken from the versification of Sanskrit is relevant to the analysis of Greek verse, and *vice versa*. There is sometimes complete *pāda*-coincidence, *e.g.*, the Greek (and Latin)[1] hendecasyllable called the Phalæcēan ⏑⏑ - - ⏑⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ - - is identical with the longer *aupacchandasaka pāda* (aupacchandasakaṃ vadanti bāhyam); and the Greek 'cyrenaic' ⏑⏑ - ⏑⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ - coincides with the common form of the *vaitālīya* shorter *pāda* (na naṭā na viṭā na gāyanāḥ). But it is not so much in complete *pāda*-coincidences as in the identity of what he calls (p. 13) "smaller metrical elements" (smaller than a *pāda* but larger than a *gaṇa* or 'foot'; the 'colon' of Greek metrics) that the resemblance is most instructive. Miss A. M. Dale's recent (1948) book "Lyric metres of Greek drama" gives as an appendix a list of some eighty 'typical or common cola' to which I always refer for purposes of comparison. She gives (for instance) a few forms, such as ⏑⏑⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ -, of the multiform Greek metrical element called the *dochmiac* ⏑ - - ⏑ -; which is,

1. Used by Catullus and hence imitated by Tennyson "óh yóu chórus of índolént reviéwérs"

I think, related to *udīcya-vṛtti*,[2] and which is perhaps the dominant element in a large group of Sanskrit metres including:—

(1) *pṛthvī*: ⏑ - | ⏑⏑⏑ - ⏑ - | ⏑⏑⏑ - ⏑ - | - ⏑ -

Śaśī divasa-dhūsaro galita-yauvanā kāminī &c.

(This could be analysed into three "dochmiacs' [=*udīcya forms*] ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - | ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - | ⏑ - - - ⏑ - , but the rhythm ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - ⏑ - - ⏑ - seems rather to be iambus, dochmiac, dochmiac, cretic; compare kusumamañjarī (Raja's paper, p. 41)

(2) *gaurī* (alias *prabhā*): e.g., Kirātārjunīya 5.21

Akhilam idam amuṣya Gaurī-guroḥ ⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑ - | ⏑ - - - ⏑ -

(a resolved *mātrā*-equivalent of the dochmiac, *plus* the regular dochmiac);

(3) *vanamālā*: e.g., Raghuvaṃśa 12. 104

Raghupatir api Jā| tavedo-viśuddhāṃ| pragṛhya priyām

⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - | ⏑ - - ⏑ - - | ⏑ - - ⏑ -

(resolved dochmiac-equivalent, *plus* either two ⏑ - - ⏑ - - bacchiacs and a dochmiac, or a dochmiac and two cretics - ⏑ - - ⏑ -):

(4) *kṣamā*, *jaloddhata-gati* &c. [The alternative name for *kṣamā*, (*kuṭila-gati*,) happens to have the same meaning as 'dochmiac'—from *dochmios*='aslant, crooked'.]

(5) *śārdūla-vikrīḍita*.

Jacobi in his article "on the development of Indian metres in the post-Vedic period" (ZDMG. xxxviii, 1884) classed together metres "beginning with six shorts and continuing with any number of cretics" (e.g. *vanamālā*): and he further noted ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - as a distinctive metrical element. Jacobi's article, Weber's edition and translation of Piṅgala in *Indische Studien* vol. x (1863) and the very detailed chapter on epic versification in E. W. Hopkins' "The Great Epic of India" (1901) seem to me to be the most valuable contributions by Western Orientalists to Sanskrit metrics (and of course E. V. Arnold's "Vedic Metre", 1905). One result of their studies is to relate a number of the classical metres to one

2. *Udīcya-vṛtti* (idaṃ Bharata-vaṃ | śa-bhūbhujām) ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - | ⏑ - ⏑ - . But Piṅgala divides ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ | - ⏑ - ⏑ - *prācya-vṛtti* (śrūyatāṃ śruti-manō|rasāyanam) - ⏑ - ⏑⏑⏑ - | ⏑ - ⏑ - . Piṅgala divides - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | - ⏑ - ⏑ - .

or other of the trimeter (*triṣṭubh-jagatī*) types which have persisted from Vedic times through the epic period and into the classical period; and, in particular (A) to very common '*choriambic*' type of triṣṭubh (classical *upajāti*), and of *jagatī* (classical *vaṃśastha*):

⏓ – ⏑ – | –, ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – –

A. and ⏓ – ⏑ – | –, ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑ –

and (B) to the heavy type of *triṣṭubh* represented by the classical *śālinī* (and its 'hypermetric' variation the *vaiśvadevī*):

– – – –, | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – –

B. (– – – – –, | – ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – –)

Derivatives of "A" are more elusive than derivatives of "B", but it leaps to the eye that the *vaitālīya* type of metre is a choriambic *jagatī* with its first quadrisyllabic metron curtailed and reduced to what metrists of Greek (speaking of the corresponding Greek metres, listed by Miss Dale as 'Aeolo-choriambic' measures) call 'variable base':

na naṭā na viṭā na gāyanāḥ
stana-bhārānamitā na yoṣitaḥ

⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ – ⏑ –

What perhaps happened in post-Vedic versification (and perhaps it happened in Greece too) was that the compact quadrisyllabic form of ancient dimeters and trimeters dissolved when a dominant rhythm (and the choriamb seems to have been a very powerful solvent) asserted itself, and became a nucleus round which any rhythmically congruous accretion might be attached. In Greece the trimeter preserved its identity *only* in the iambic form (the variety of *jagatī* which Arnold finds particularly in maṇḍala vii of the Ṛg-veda), the staple metre of the non-lyrical parts of Greek drama. [The Sapphic stanza consists in three lines which could be 'choriambic' triṣṭubhs (though with an unusual opening), followed by a fourth 'line' – ⏑⏑ – ⏓. Thus, – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – –, thrice: followed by – ⏑⏑ – ⏓. But Sappho's contemporary, Alcaeus, cannot have thought of the Sapphic hendecasyllable as a compact trimeter, for he addresses 'sweetly smiling lady Sappho with hair like the violet'

(i o -plok' hagnā mellicho-meide Sapphoi)
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

in her *own* Sapphic hendecasyllable *but* with a short syllable prefixd: and one could not take that liberty which a genuine triṣṭubh! Besides, as Miss Dale points out (p. 169 footnote), Alcaeus himself used a hendecasyllable correlated with the Sapphic: and this could not by any ingenuity be regarded as a triṣṭubh].

As to classical derivatives from the "B" (*śālinī*) type of trimeter, Jacobi is instructive[3]—*Mandākrāntā*, *Sragdharā*, *Mālinī*, and others with the *śālinī*'s cadence - ˘ - - - ˘ - -, usually keep to an opening of long syllables like *śālinī*, *but* with accretions; and they *insert*, between their lengthened openings and the usual *śālinī* cadence, an 'echo' in resolved form (5 shorts and a long, or 6 shorts and a long) of a heavy phrase embodied in the opening or in the cadence: except that *Mālinī* inserts nothing, but simply resolves the opening five longs of *vaiśvadevī* into six shorts and two longs.—And so on. Like the choriamb in the *triṣṭubh* (*upajāti*-type), and like the iambic cadence of the *jagatī* the *śālinī's* cadence - ˘ - - - ˘ - - is a powerful solvent of the trimeter (quadrisyllabic) mould in which it first took shape: and new metres come out of it like butterflies out of a chrysalis.

Jacobi's article is quite short and ought to be available in an English translation,—*with* corrections of the misprints of metrical symbols.[3]

I welcome Dr. Raja's approach to the subject. Piṅgala gives a marvellously systematic description; but, as Raja says and as Weber said, (in 1863), his trisyllabic 'feet' do not present the true rhythm except by accident; and a new account on the lines which Dr. Raja is following is very necessary. I think one will find in Greek metrics valuable collateral evidence for this purpose. I always turn to Miss Dale's list of Greek cola when I am puzzled by a Sanskrit metre. For instance in the case of *śikhariṇī* (˘ - - - - - , ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ - - ˘ ˘ ˘ - udanvac-channā bhūḥ sa ca nidhir apāṃ yojana-śataiḥ), the 'bacchiac dimeter'

- - -

in Miss Dale's list, - - - | ˘ - -, in which a molossus takes

˘ - -

the place of a bacchiac, *seems* to give the clue.[4] Is not the

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3. Re. Rathoddhatā, is it not just *prācya-vṛttipāda*, used in a *sama-vṛtta*?

4. Very doubtful! Miss Dale disallows ˘ - - | - - - as a bacchiac dimeter (p. 100). The molossus - - - must come at the *beginning*.

⏑ – –   – – –   ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑ –
rhythm: bacchiac; molossus (for bacchiac); resolved bacchiac
– ⏑⏑⏑ –
plus long syllable; and long syllable *plus* resolved bacchiac? (*mātrās*: 5; 6 for 5; 5 and 2; 2 and 5).

Unlike Piṅgala, for whom only the *four*-moment *gaṇas*
– ⏑ ⏑   ⏑ ⏑ –   – –   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
(dactyl, anapæst, spondee, proceleusmatic—and, for the sole
⏑ – ⏑
purpose of scanning the *āryā*, also the amphibrach) are reckoned as time-measures (the other feet being regarded as syllable patterns merely), the Greek metrists classified *all* feet according to the number of moments contained:—feet of three
⏑ –   – ⏑ –   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
moments (iambus, trochee and tribrach); four moments; five
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
– ⏑ –   ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –   ⏑ – –
⏑ ⏑ – –
moments (cretic, paeonic, bacchiac); and six moments (ionic,
– ⏑⏑ –   – – –
choriambus, molossus: and, since, iambs and trochees go in
⏑ – ⏑ –   – ⏑ – ⏑
pairs, the double-iamb and double-trochee could have been included; but they are variable, ⏓ – ⏑ – and – ⏑ – ⏓ and not restricted to six moments).

The Greek metrist therefore—unlike Piṅgala—expects all metres to be time-patterns, *mātrā-vṛtti*. That view comes up against difficulties, as soon as a metre ceases to consist in simple repetitions of the same 'foot' (or at least of feet of the same time-value), like *dodhaka*, *toṭaka*, *sragviṇī*, *induvadanā*[5], *bhujaṃga-prayāta*. It *does* however work also for the two most widely used and famous Greek measures; Homer's hexameter (six feet — ⏑⏑ the fifth regularly – ⏑ ⏑ and the sixth necessarily – –); and the iambic "trimeter" used in the dialogue of Greek drama (which is really a *jagatī pāda* of the variety not uncommon in R.V. *maṇḍala* vii, called by Arnold the 'iambic' *jagatī*'). But it is difficult to apply this conception to metres which are *not*, on the face of it, mere

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5. But *indu-vadanā* (alias *Varasundarī*) – ⏑⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑⏑ | – – is reduced to four moments in its closing *gaṇa*. Miss Dale notes that this sometimes happens in the parallel Greek (paeonic) metre.

repetitions of the same or equivalent simple elements ; and the Greek lyric metres studied in Miss Dale's book (like *varṇa-mātrā-* and *varṇa-vṛtti*) look at first sight like combinations of heterogeneous 'feet'. Metrists of Greek therefore had to face just the problem which metrists of Sanskrit have set for themselves,—to determine the principles on which these more complex patterns are built up. And the patterns of Sanskrit versification are so similar to those found in Greek that what is true of one *should* be true of the other.[6]

6. I have delayed sending the above note because my own experience warns me that I may be doing a disservice in suggesting comparison between Greek and Sanskrit metres! The one book which I have read in which Greek metre is treated on the basis of comparison with Avestan and Vedic versification (J.M. White : The Verse of Greek Comedy) seems to me to be a warning against the use of such methods ; which can be very misleading. And I myself have found—and my inference from the Greek bacchiac dimeter to *Śikhariṇī* is very likely a case in point—that these analogies lend themselves to misuse.

EARLY KADAMBA CHRONOLOGY

By

Dr. G. S. GAI, *Ootacamund*

In a recent authoritative work on the history of the ancient Indians, there is a chapter on South India which devotes a brief section to the history of the early Kadambas.[1] About the chronology of this dynasty we see, from the table of reference given on p. 238 of that book, that the first king Mayūraśarman is placed in A.D. 345-60, his great-grandson Kākusthavarman in A.D. 425-50 and Harivarman, the last king of the main line, in A.D. 538-50.[2] A detailed and more succinct account of the members of this dynasty is given in a Kannaḍa article entitled *Ruling Dynasties of Karṇāṭaka*—The Kadambas—by Messrs. N. Lakshminarayan Rao and R. S. Panchamukhi.[3] The chronology adopted by these scholars is more or less the same as referred to above. For these chronological schemes, the date of the Sangoli plates of Harivarman[4] has undoubtedly provided a land-mark, though other considerations have also been taken into account. The astronomical phenomenon *vishupa* mentioned in the Sangoli plates, which are dated in the king's eighth regnal year, yielded three dates in the sixth contury A.D., *viz.*, A.D. 507, A.D. 526 and A.D. 545 as the probable dates of the record. Of these, the last one, *i.e.* A.D. 545 was preferred for political reasons on the assumption that the defeat of the Kadambas by the Western Chālukya king Pulikeśin I must have taken place about A.D. 550. And so Harivarman was supposed to have ascended the Kadamba throne in A.D. 538.[5]

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1 *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI-The Vākāṭaka—Gupta Age, pp. 235-46.

2 These dates are based on J. Dubreuil's approximations See *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 95.

3 *Prabuddha-Karṇāṭaka*, Vol. XX, No. 1, pp. 119-36 ; No. 2, pp. 101—24. The subject has also been dealt with in sufficient details by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 215ff. See also, *Kadamba-Kula*, pp. 15-54.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIV, pp, 163-68.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

About eight years ago an inscription of Chālukya Vallabhēśvara (*i.e.*, Pulikēśin I) dated in Śaka 465 (A.D. 543) was discovered on a hill-rock at Bādāmi in the Bijapur District.[1] In this record the king is stated to have performed *aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices, thereby indicating his independent status obtained after defeating and ousting the early Kadambas of Vaijayantī,[2] who were rulers of the region. In view of the date of this inscription, the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, editor of the Sangoli plates, had to revise his opinion and prefer A.D. 526 as the date of the latter record[3] which would place the accession of Harivarman in A.D. 519, about 20 years earlier than the date given previously. Consequently it is necessary to revise the chronological dates given to the earlier members of the family and that is the object of the present paper.

Starting, then, backwards from A.D. 519 as the date of Harivarman's accession, we have to place his father and predecessor Ravivarman between A.D. 484-519 since we know that the latter king ruled at least for 35 years.[4] Between Ravivarman and his father Mṛigēśavarman, we have probably to accomodate, with a short rule of about 7 or 8 years, one Śivamāndhātṛvarman who is suggested to have been an younger brother of Mṛigēśavarman.[5] In fact, the position of this Śivamāndhātṛvarman is the same as that left by Dr. Kielhorn some 45 years ago,[6] because no discoveries throwing fresh light on the point have been made during this period. We may, however, assign Śivamāndhātṛvarman to A.D. 475-84. Then giving a normal period of 25 years' rule, Mṛigēśavarman's reign would fall between A.D. 450-75.[7] His father Śāntivarman may be placed in A.D. 430-50 and the latter's

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1 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-9 (The record has also been published by the same author in the *Digest of the An. Rep. on Kannaḍa Research in Bombay Province*, 1940-41, pp. 6-9).

2 *Ibid.*. p. 6.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 7 n. 2,

4 His Sirsi C. P. grant is dated in his [3] 5th year. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI. p. 264.

5 *Pr. Kar.* Vol. XX, No. 1. p. 130. n. 9.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 30-1.

7 It has been suggested that this king might have come to the throne either in A.D. 434-35 or in A.D. 469-70 (*Suc. Sāt.* p. 236). But these dates do not suit our scheme.

father Kākusthavarman in A.D. 400-30.[1] In view of the fact that one of *yuvarāja* Kākusthavarman's records[2] mentions year 80 which is generally accepted as the year counted from the first king Mayūraśarman's accession, we have to accommodate four kings during these 80 years and one of the kings was Kākusthavarman's elder brother Raghu. So Raghu may be given a rule of 15 years, from A.D. 385-400, his father Bhagīratha seems to have reigned from A.D. 360-85, the latter's father Kaṅgavarman from A.D. 345-60 whose father Mayūraśarman has to be placed in A.D. 320-45. Thus Mayūraśarman's date of accession would fall in A.D. 320, about 20 years earlier than the date generally assigned.

It now remains to know the later limit of Harivarman's rule and consider the reign-periods of the important line of the dynasty, *i.e.* of Kṛṣṇavarman I. It is agreed that Kṛṣṇavarman II, the great-grandson of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was a contemporary of Harivarman, probably the last king of the main line. It is also gathered that Kṛṣṇavarman II defeated Harivarman before he occupied Vaijayantī (modern Banavasi in the North-Kanara district), the erstwhile capital of the rulers of the main dynasty. And it is suggested that this event might have taken place before the 7th year of Kṛṣṇavarman II.[3] It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that it was Kṛṣṇavarman II whom the Chālukya king Pulikēśin I defeated before the latter established himself at Bādāmi about A.D. 540.[4] From the Sangoli plates we learn that Harivarman was at Vaijayantī in A.D. 526 and his defeat must have taken place soon after that date. We may, therefore, place Harivarman between A.D. 519-30 and assign a rule of twenty years from A.D. 520-40 to Kṛṣṇavarman II. On an average rule of 25 years, Simhavarman, father and predecessor of Kṛṣṇavarman II, may be supposed to have ruled from A.D.

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1 This period includes about 5 years of his *yuvarāj*-ship.

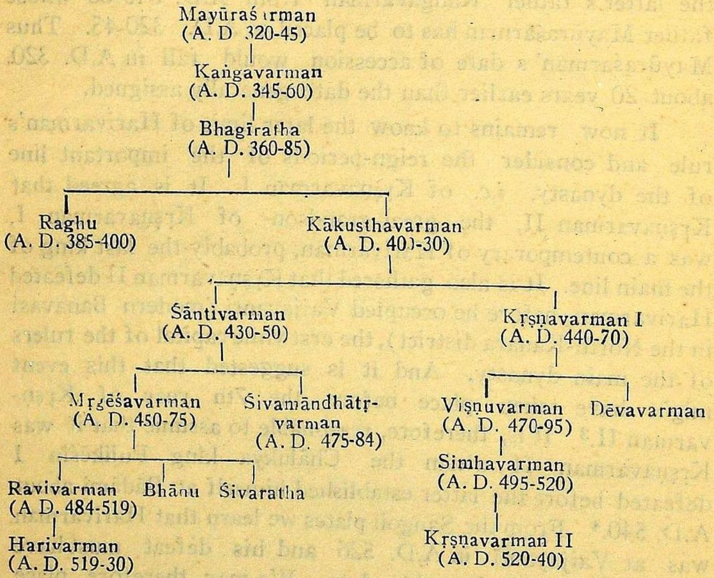
2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 23, text ll. 4-5.

3 *Pr. Kar.*. Vol. XX, No 2, p. 115. It must, however, be noted that the direct and definite evidence of the early occupation of Vaijayantī by Kṛṣṇavarman II is obtained, so far, from his Kiṛukuppaṭūr grant dated in his 15th year (*Digest, An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bom. Pr.*, 1940-41, pp. 3-5).

4 This event is placed in A.D. 540 by us in view of the date of the Bādāmi inscription of this king mentioned above.

495 to A.D. 520 and his father Viṣṇuvarman from A.D. 470-95. And Kṛṣṇavarman I, the father of Viṣṇuvarman, son of Kākusthavarman, and younger brother of Śāntivarman of the main line, has to be placed in A.D. 440-70.

For the sake of ready reference, the revised chronology of the two early Kadamba families discussed above may be shown by the following table, the dates given being, of course, probable ones to be adjusted by future researches:—



We may now proceed to disuss a few points arising out of this revised chronology and connected with the known genealogy of the family. According to our scheme, Kākusthavarman (A.D. 400-30)[1] was a later contemporary of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II and an elder one of Kumāragupta I. We may, therefore, assume that Kākusthavarman might have given his daughter to Kumāragupta I instead of to one of his successors.[2] As regards the matrimonial relationship of the Kadambas with the Vākāṭakas, in the first place, the present-

1 Dr. Sircar has assigned c. A.D. 405 as Kākusthavarman's date of accession (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 392).

2 For Bühler's interpretation of the verse in question, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. *XXV*. p. 27, according to which there was no marriage alliance with the Gupta Kings and others.

day leading scholars are not agreed upon the dates of Pravara-sena II and his son and successor Narendra-sena. Thus according to Dr. Altekar, Pravara-sena II ascended the throne in c. A.D. 410 and Narendra-sena in c. A.D. 440[3], while Dr. Majumdar proposes[1] c. A.D. 450 and c. A.D. 480 for their accession, forty years later in each case. Mm. Prof. Mirashi, while disagreeing with Dr. Majumdar's views and confirming the prevalent view on the point, places the accession dates of Pravara-sena II and Narendra-sena in c. A.D. 420 and 450 respectively, 10 years later than the dates proposed by Dr. Altekar.[2] It has been presumed that the Kuntala princess who was the wife of Narendra-sena and mother of Pṛthivī-ṣeṇa II was probably a daughter of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman.[3] But, if as suggested above, Kumāragupta I was the son-in-law of Kākusthavarman it is not possible that the latter king gave his another daughter in marriage to the Vākāṭaka prince Narendra-sena, the grandson of the sister of Kumāragupta I.

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1 *A New Hist. of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 113, 115.

2 *J. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol., XII, No. 1, pp. 1-(5).

3 *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol., XXIV, pp. 151-55. This difference is due to the fact that Prof. Mirashi accepts the date c.A.D. 395, given by V. Smith, for the marriage of Rudra-sena II, father of Pravara-sena II, with Prabhāvatī-guptā, and places Rudra-sena's accession in c. A.D. 400. Dr. Altekar, however, on the assumption that Prabhāvatī-guptā was born in c. A.D. 365, thinks that her marriage took place in c A.D. 380 and that Rudra-sena II came to the throne in c.A.D. 400. It may be noted, in this connection, that Prof. Mirashi credits Pṛithivī-ṣeṇa I with a long rule of 50 years while other scholars give 25 years' rule to this king and a rule of 45 years to his father and predecessor Rudra-sena I, who probably came to the throne early in life, as suggested by Dr. Majumdar.

3 *A New Hist. of the Ind. Peo.*, Vol. VI, pp. 115, 240. According to Dr. Altekar, the marriage of this lady Ajitabhaṭṭārikā, supposed to have been the daughter of Kākusthavarman, with Narendra-sena took place in c.A.D. 430. (*op. cit.*, p, 115). This event has to be placed about 10 years later according to Prof. Mirashi's dates and 40 years later according to Dr. Majumdar in which case Ajitabhaṭṭārikā must surely have been the daughter of a Kuntala king, other than Kākusthavarman.

We also meet with some difficulty in understanding the matrimonial relationship of the Kadambas with the Western Gaṅgas. It is usually assumed that the Gaṅga king Mādhava (III), the son of Viṣṇugōpa and the father of Avinīta, married a daughter of Kākusthavarman and sister of Kṛṣṇavarman I, since the Gaṅga grants style Avinīta as the sister's son (*priya-bhāginēyaḥ*) of the Kadamba king Kṛṣṇavarman, described as *aśvamedh-āvabhṛth - ābhiṣikta - śrīmat - Kadamba - kula - gagana-gabhasti mālinaḥ* and identified with Kṛṣṇavarman I.[1] And, on certain considerations, this Mādhava III is placed from c. A.D. 480-95,[2] who would thus become a contemporary of Viṣṇuvarman, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I according to our table of dates. It is, therefore, not possible to suppose that he married a daughter of Kākusthavarman. Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, however, eliminates Viṣṇugopa altogether from the Gaṅga genealogy as a fabricated name, identifies Harivarman with Āyyavarman, father of Mādhavavarman II of the Penukoṇḍa plates and takes Avinīta to be a son of this Mādhavavarman II[3] who is supposed to have ruled from c.A.D. 460-75.[4] If we put faith in this genealogy and assume that it was Mādhavavarman II who married the sister of Kṛṣṇavarman I, it will obviate our difficulty, pointed out above, in as much as Kṛṣṇavarman I would be a contemporary, though an elder one, of the Gaṅga king. In view of our chronological scheme, we may have to suppose that Kākusthavarman had a daughter, probably his youngest issue, rather late in his life, whom he left to the care of Kṛṣṇavarman I and it was the latter who attended to her marriage with the Gaṅga king. This view

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1 The main reason for this identification is, of course, the epithet *aśvamedh-* etc., associated with the name of Kṛṣṇavarman and it is only the first king of this name who is known to have perfomed an *aśvamēdha* sacrifice. Some scholars, however, identify this king with Kṛṣṇavarman II (J. Dubreuil, *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 103). Dr. Sircar, in upholding the latter identification, suggests that the epithet *aśvamēdh-*etc., qualifies *kadamba-kula* and should not be applied as the personal epithet of the king mentioned therein *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 300-01).

2 *Pr. Kar.*. Vol. XX, No. 1, p. 131.

3 *A New Hist. of the Ind. Peo.*, Vol. VI, pp. 249-50.

4 *Pr. Kar.*, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

may gain support from the suggestion [1] that Kākusthavarman had taken a second wife on whom he begot Kṛṣṇavarman I and a daughter married to the Gaṅga king, because Śāntivarman, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇavarman I is styled as *aurasa-putra* of Kākusthavarman in the Talgunda pillar inscription.[2] And this may also perhaps explain why the Gaṅga grants proclaim Avinīta invariably as the *priya-bhāginēya* of Kṛṣṇavarman and not *priya-dauhitra* of Kākusthavarman.[3]

There are many other controversial points connected with the Kadamba history of this period. For example, it is suggested that Kṛṣṇavarman I, father of Viṣṇuvarman, ruled before his elder brother Śāntivarman by usurping the throne of Kākusthavarman and that Śāntivarman was not the eldest son of his father[4], suggestion based on the dubious testimony of the Birur plates of Viṣṇuvarman.[5] But unless more definite and reliable evidence is forthcoming, we need not set aside the prevalent view on the point that the Kadamba kingdom seems to have been divided between Śāntivarman and his brother Kṛṣṇavarman I who ruled independently in their respective territories just as the Vākāṭaka kingdom was divided into two branches after the death of Pravara-sena I. To mark his independent status, Kṛṣṇavarman I might have performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

It is outside the scope of this paper to deal with these different view-points, propounded by several scholars, some of which are based on assumptions, possibilities, negative evidence and, no doubt, also on ingenious suggestions. Suffice it to say that we must await fresh discoveries for the clarification of these fixed, doubtful, and controversial points connected with the early Kadamba history.

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1 *Pr. Kar.*, Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 105.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 33, text Line 14.

3 It is also possible that Kṛṣṇavarman I might have rendered some substantial help to the Gaṅga king.

4 *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 283, 286.

5 *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VI. Kd. 162. Dr. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. *VIII*, p. 30, note 2) doubted the authenticity of Birur grant, though he was inclined to rely on the degree of relationship mentioned. The authors of the afore-mentioned Kannaḍa article have shown this record to be a spurious document.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

FOURTH FOUNDATION DAY

The Fourth Foundation Day celebrations of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, were held on Wednesday, 8th September, 1948, at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore. A learned gathering was present. Sri C. Jinarajadasa, President of the Theosophical Society, and a Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute, presided.

After prayer, Dr. V. Raghavan, one of the Secretaries, read messages received for the success of the function. The following had sent messages: H. E. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India; H. E. M. S. Aney, Governor of Bihar; Sir Mirza Ismail; Dr. S. R. U. Savoor, Retd. D. P. I., Madras; Hon. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister, Madras; Rev. Jerome D'Souza, Principal, Loyola College, Madras; Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Retd. Sanskrit Professor, Calcutta, and Prof. M. Lakshminarasimhaiya, Head of the Sanskrit Dept., Mysore University.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar, one of the Secretaries of the Institute, then read the report of the work of the Institute for the year 1947-1948.

Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Institute, then welcomed the President of the evening, Mr. Jinarajadasa, and the two scholars who were to read two research papers. He referred to Mr. Jinarajadasa as a person not only of vast learning but of rare insight. The two scholars who were to read research papers on the occassion, he said, had been professors at the University and were scholars of experience, and their papers, he added, were going to be full of lessons for the problems of the day with which they were all struggling. He then requested Mr. Jinarajadasa to occupy the chair, deliver his address and conduct the proceedings.

Mr. C. Jinarajadasa observed in the course of his address that Sanskrit was living because all our culture was permeated by Sanskrit ideas in one form or another. He continued: "I do not know Tamil or Telugu, but I am quite sure that even there, so far as philosophies are concerned, their spirit comes from ancient days. Now it is necessary in these days when great changes are taking

place around us that if we are to live as a great nation we must get our continuity with the ancient past. Now how is this going to be done ? I have got some suggestions which I think should be practicable. And this is to popularise our ancient learning, translating them in the various dialects if you like. I want to explain the way in which this popularisation of ancient culture has been done in other lands. We have today several great dialects. We are supposed to be having Hindustani as a kind of common speech. But one of these days Hindustani will have to be sanskritised if it is to be really effective. Now it is perfectly possible to do something to bring all the millions of men and particularly the women—who are very close to our ancient culture—nearer to that culture. I am anxious particularly because in these days a twist to our culture is being given by the cinema. The cinema takes our ancient dramas and adopts them in horrible ways. I was once present at a film show of Sakuntala. Well, it was simply a kind of torture, something impossible. The same twist is taking place in the cinema elsewhere. Last November I was on a ship coming here; and one evening my friends and I went to see a cinema of a great story of Dickens—the Great Expectations; after about two reels I left the theatre hall; I could not stand it any more. I know Dickens, every line of it. The twist is given to the story, to fit it to the needs of the cinema, taking away all the charm. That is what is happening in India today. How then are we going to get back our ancient culture ? I have a suggestion to make. Here is a little book of Bhagavat Gita. Years ago our old friend Mr. Natesan got permission of Dr. Besant to issue a cheap edition in Sanskrit with an English translation, paying no copyright at all. Now upto the year 1939, he had sold over 1,45,000 copies of it. It was then being sold at four annas and it was my custom at railway stations to buy copies and give them to my friends. The price has been now raised to six annas. Now think of the work that has been done by that little book with the Sanskrit text and English translation. It has popularised Gita. Happily today there are thousands of other translations but I do not think you can get one with Sanskrit and English for six annas. Now, there is no reason whatsoever that Gita must always be in Sanskrit characters. I have here a beautiful edition of Gita in Roman letters, which is very perfect. You must have

heard of the great Pali Society which has published more than 60 volumes of Poli books—all in Roman script. The second idea is this. It has been my dream that our own Theosophical Publishing House should publish a series of works to be sold at annas two. This thought occurred to me in 1917 in those very thrilling days. Lately I was living in Italy where a firm has published about 700 volumes—all cheap editions of books of great scholars on practically every topic. The Italian firm issued hundreds of translations, summaries and abridgments of the ancient works of Greece and Rome for a cost which comes to about two annas. I have brought one or two of those books here. Thus throughout Italy there was a popularisation of those learned books. When I went to South America in Chile, a firm was doing similar work. The cost comes to less than three annas. I asked one Publisher : Are you having any copyright for this? His reply was: That is not our business. Our business is to see that our people get into touch with every possible kind of knowledge. Similar thing happened in England too. Now my suggestion is that an Institute like this should try the same method here. Now you may ask how is this going to be financed. It seems to me that if a great authority were to stand at the back of such an undertaking and prevent the vulgarisation, translations of real Sakuntala can be had. Now an Institute like the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute should undertake to publish books at cheap rates to reach the masses. India is a land where men who are rich, who give riches to temples, should come forward to erect this new temple of learning, for the welfare of the millions. If a great body like this Institute stands at the back and be responsible for the work, and employ two or three graduates—and they seem to be cheap now—they should be able to turn out publications for all India, and which may tell the people what real culture was in ancient India and what it is today. I am urging that this should be done because either we should have an Indian culture or cinema culture. There is no other alternative between the two. It is time that some of us entered that position and took charge of the welfare of our people, to make the people proud of their ancient culture. There is no other culture which goes so far back and it is a culture in which we can still dig deep: we can dig a well in which we can take new buckets of water and change the whole life of the people. These are the two ideas I have to offer."

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in Indian History & Archaeology, University of Madras (Retd.), then read a paper on "Some Cultural Contacts in South Indian History." In the course of the paper, he set forth some of the outstanding facts of South Indian cultural history. He said that the belief that the peoples of South India—Andhras, Kannadigas and Tamils—had each developed, in the course of ages, a distinctive culture of their own, was quite common even among the educated classes; serious efforts were also being made to restore the purity of their so-called indigenous cultures; but, this belief, he said, was not based on evidence. A careful examination of the mode of life and the social, religious and economic institutions of the South Indian peoples at present was bound to convince them that in spite of local variations and peculiarities noticeable here and there, their cultural heritage was essentially the same. There was nothing to distinguish the Andhra culture from those of Tamilnad and Karnataka. There were differences of language, but linguistic differences must not be confounded with differences in culture and made an excuse for the division of the country into water-tight compartments.

Dr. Venkataramanayya dealt at length with the political history of South India, laying emphasis on the movement of peoples since 200 B.C. and said that in no period in the past did our people live in isolation, entrenched behind linguistic barriers. Then he dealt with Andhra language, literature and music and said that what they regarded as peculiarly Andhra was, in fact, the outcome of the activity of the non-Andhras who adopted the Telugu country as their home.

Vidvan Venkatarajulu Reddiar, Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras, (Retd.), then spoke in Tamil on "Tolkāppiyam". He said that "Tolkāppiyam" was the oldest Tamil grammatical treatise and showed with a wealth of illustration how a knowledge of Sanskrit grammatical and *alaṅkāra* works was necessary for understanding several of the ideas in Tamil *Ilakkaṇam* and *Ilakkiyam*.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar thanked the learned President and the two scholars for their learned and stimulating addresses. He agreed with Mr. Jinarajadasa on the need for popularisation of our culture and observed that the two research scholars, Dr. Venkataramanayya and Vidvan

Venkatarajulu Reddiar, had done a service by emphasising the cultural links of the southern peoples.

GENERAL BODY MEETING

The Annual General Body Meeting of the Institute was held at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, on Monday, 20th September, 1948, at 6 P. M.

The President of the Institute, Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, presided.

Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar, Secretary of the Institute, presented the fourth Annual Report of the Institute and the audited statement of accounts for the period 1-8-47—31-7-48. One Fellow, Sri. T.N. Ramachandran., Supt., Arch. Survey of India, and eight new Life Members, Sri P. S. Visvanathan, I. C. S., Sri S. Ramaswami Sastri of Tiruvisanallur, Dr. Goda Varma, Travancore University, Sri T. Vasu Naidu, Madras, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Govt. Epigraphist, Ooty, Dr. Sailesvar Sen, Reader in Philosophy, Andhra University, Waltair, Sri T.V. Visvanatha Ayyar, Advocate, Mylapore, and Sri C. A. Seshagiri Sastri, Advocate, Mylapore were enrolled during the period. Mrs. Sundarambal, wife of the late D. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar of B. G. Paul and Co., gave a donation of Rs. 1000/- and Sri K. Varadachari, 165, Lloyds Road, Royapettah, a donation of Rs. 50/-. The accounts of the Institute were audited as usual, free of charge, by Sri V. Swaminathan, B.A., G. D. A., R.A. On the motion of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, seconded by Sri T. Candarasekharan, the Annual Report and statement of Accounts were adopted.

The full report together with the statement of accounts will be separately published.

The budget for the next year presented by Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar was then, on the motion of the Chair, adopted.

On the motion of Sri A. A. Venkatarama Ayyar, seconded by Sri K.S. Ramaswami Sastri, Sri V. Swaminathan was re-elected Auditor for the next year.

Moved from the chair, the following two resolutions were then passed :

1. "This meeting of the General Body of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute places on record its

great sorrow and sense of loss sustained by the Institute and the world of Sanskrit studies in the sad untimely demise of Dr. T. R. Chintamani, a Life Member of the Institute, and a member of the Sanskrit Research Department of the Madras University."

2. "This meeting of the General Body of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute authorises the President and Secretaries, with other co-opted members, to see the Maharajah of Cochin with a view to request His Highness to extend his kind patronage to the Institute."

BOOK REVIEWS

Lectures on The Ramayana by The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri with a foreword by Sri. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri. Published on behalf of the Madras Samskrit Academy by S. Viswanathan, the Central Art Press, 14, Singanna Naick Street, G. T., Madras. Price Rs. 10/-: $ 4/-: Sh. 16/-

The Madras Samskrit Academy has placed lovers of Valmiki's Ramayana under a debt of gratitude by its publication of the thirty lectures on the Ramayana delivered by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri to large audiences in Mylapore in 1944. The benefit of these learned and thoughtful lectures has now been extended to the much wider circle of readers who have been in eager expectation of their appearance in book form.

It may be stated at the outset that the author is not interested like Western scholars in discussing questions like the date and the text of the Ramayana and its relation to the Uttarakanda. Nor is he concerned with the poem merely as a work of art. He does not examine for instance the construction of the plot and its coherence. Though there are occasional remarks on the beauty of certain passages, his primary interest is not the elucidation of the beauty of its form, of its diction and of its rhythm. Here and there he points out discrepancies between the version of certain accounts as they are set forth in the first six books and that in the Uttarakanda but does not pursue the inquiry further to a discussion of the authorship of the latter. The author takes the two parts of the poem just as they are and as they have been accepted by tradition. This is because his admiration for the epic and his intensive study of it are the result of a profound appreciation of Valmiki's representation of human character in his great creations. Sastriar's appreciation of the poem is thus moral rather than literary. As a politician who had come into contact with all sorts and shades of men and women in the course of a fairly long life, the study of lofty characters like Rama, Sita, Bharata aud others was of far great importance to him than the study of art for art's sake.

As the author himself candidly admits; his interpretation of the characters in the Ramayana is based on the view that it is "a human document", that Rama and Sita are the imagina-

tive creations of a great poet and that the poem is not a mere religious gospel which is intended to reveal Divine perfection in the characters of the hero and the heroine. For centuries the epic has been set forth and elucidated from this religious point of view by great commentators and professional expositors. It is fortunate that the consideration of the poem and the characters in it as representations of human nature in some of its loftiest and noblest manifestations should have been undertaken by one who was a keen observer of human nature in all its levels and who had also the critical equipment of a scholar. Perhaps for the first time in Indian criticism, the characters of the Ramayana have been studied spaciously from every angle, just as they reacted to the varying situations in which they were successively placed.

A critical student of the Ramayana once remarked, "Sri Rama in Valmiki's poem is too much of a prig and too much of a model of perfection to be interesting to readers who study it as a work of art. Like Tennyson's King Arthur,

'He is all fault who hath no fault at all'."

In his fifth, sixth and seventh lectures, Sastriar answers this charge at considerable length. He points out that Sri Rama too has some of the weaknesses, failings and blemishes of ordinary human nature, though, in critical situations, he rises far above the rest of mankind and shows himself "a whole universe of evolution" above it. When Sumantra has taken leave and Rama finds himself in the company of Lakshmana and Sita separated from all that Ayodhya meant to him, he bursts into a mood of sorrow and reproaches Kaikeyi. When Bharata has left with Rama's sandals, foiled in his attempt to take Rama back to Ayodhya, Valmiki says, "With tears in his eyes Rama went into the Parnakuti." In this connexion, the comment which Sastriar makes is worth quoting as it would show better than anything else the difference between his approach to the poem and that of the orthodox commentators and expositors:—

"There is one word, which the commentator adds, which it seems to me, is characteristic of the style of interpretation that we generally have in this country. But it is wholly misguided. Did I not read to you now *"rudan kuṭīm svām praviveśa Rāmaḥ"*. Why not leave it there? It is a beautiful sentiment (that Rama wept). It makes us love and adore

Rama. But the commentator must add *rudanniva*, "pretending to cry", because he was the great one, the Divine One, and he ought not to cry; but like a human being he cried. But we prefer him to behave like us.........If Rama wept, why should we not believe that he sincerely and truly wept? *He did.*" (p. 225)

After Sita has been abducted by Ravana, Sri Rama is overcome by a paroxysm of grief and taking his great bow from Lakshmana threatens to destroy the whole world of men and Gods, the innocent as well as the guilty, and Lakshmana has to comfort him and gently bring him back to his usual good sense. In such situations the orthodox interpreters of the poem to whom it is a biography of God's incarnation have to resort to a defence of Rama by saying that he was only playing the part of a man and that he was not really transported into anger. But where was the need for this play-acting where nobody else was present except Lakshmana who was himself an *aṁśa* of Divinity? It has been argued that " anger, grief and all other such emotions which in ordinary human beings take on a personal tone and complexion become utterly transmuted in the case of the Great and lose their stings. They are, so to speak, natural forces and when Rama and Sita seem to yield to them, it is not that they become human but emotions themselves become Divine". This argument is neither clear nor convincing. In reply to these interpretations, it may be stated that the sympathy we feel for Rama and Sita and the tears that we shed over their sorrows while reading the poem would, on this view, be entirely misplaced, not to say, foolish. In the great repudiation scene after the conquest of Lanka, Rama sends for Sita and tells her that he killed Ravana for the sake of his honour and not for her and that, as there is a stain on her character, he will not take her back. The words that Valmiki puts into Rama's mouth on this occasion are shockingly harsh: 'I have nothing more to do with you. You may go wherever you please. You may fix your mind (*buddhi-manas*), on Lakshmana or Bharata, Sugriva, the king of monkeys or Vibhishana, the king of the Rakshasas, just as you will'. The great commentator Govindaraja, feels that the words *buddhi* and *manas* employed here by Rama are capable of a revolting meaning and gives another interpretation. What Rama meant was, according to him, that she should live under the protec-

tion of any of them. He adds that the words should not be misinterpreted as such interpretation would be unworthy of the great man". Sastriar here rightly interprets the passage in the sense which is undoubtedly shocking. Sita's reply seems also to justify this interpretation: "You say these things to me as if I was a common (*pāmara*) woman and you a common (*pāmara*) husband". After Sita has come out successful through the ordeal by fire and after Rama has been assured by Agni and the spirit of Dasaratha that she is free from any touch of sin or stain, Rama says that he has known it all along. In this context Sastriar says that the words of Rama clearly indicate that he had doubts, that he wavered in his mind on the question of Sita's purity and was only reassured after the ordeal. His view may shock orthodox readers of the Ramayana but the only alternative is stretching the meaning of the words too far or admitting an inconsistency between what Rama says here and what we have learnt to appreciate as his nobleness and sincerity from all that has gone before.

Sastriar's analysis of Sita's character is one of the finest studies in the book. Not even the most devout of those who look upon her as divine has surpassed Sastriar in his admiration of Sita, the strength of her purity, her nobleness and her high sense of self-respect. He states that her harsh words to Lakshmana were natural in the anxious moments in which they were spoken. The fact, in the very next scene, she tells Ravana of his extreme devotion to Rama and of his disciplined life shows that she did not then mean what she said in her anguish. The pious Govindaraja would have it that Sita's later sufferings and sorrows were the consequence of this offence of hers to a true devotee. In this connection Sastriar says, "We may not blame Sita so very much although we all wish in our hearts that she did not say such harsh things to Lakshmana, knowing them all to be false". So also some readers are shocked at the boldness of her speech to her husband when he tries to dissuade her from accompanying him to the forest. Sastriar says in answer to such critics, "I tell you most definitely that this proves to me beyond all doubt that Sita was a good, true, brave Rajput woman.......This is a wicked thought that enters the mind of narrow-minded little-hearted men. I cannot forgive the people who speak ill of Sita". We may perhaps add that Sita as depicted by Valmiki is not like the colourless, gentle, sweet looking, wooden dolls of

Sir Walter Scott. She has a strong individuality and when her feelings, which were invariably just, were roused, her tongue was, as Sastriar puts it, seldom under a curb. Her replies to the dreaded Ravana's earnest solicitations and cruel threats show her fearlessness and strength of mind and heart.

Among the best studies in the book are those of Lakshmana, Ravana and the comparison between Kausalya and Sumitra. Lakshmana's character is hit off in the following sentence: "He was one of those great natures which are highly susceptible, which could be excited to a pitch of excitement easily (always the mark of a generous nature, of a noble nature) excitable, made angry quickly, but at the same time liable to lose that anger quickly too and become generous and even magnanimous afterwards". Exception may, however, be taken to the following remark on his devotion to Rama, "He has a dog's qualities, a slave's virtues". It is likely to offend religious susceptibilities and is, besides, not quite true. His devotion to Rama was neither slavish, nor irrational. It was based on a real admiration of Rama's spiritual greatness; whenever he disagreed with Rama, he did not slavishly acquiesce. As has been stated before, when Rama, immediately after Sita's abduction, threatened to destroy the world in his anger, Lakshmana had the courage to administer a mild rebuke.

Sastriar begins his analysis of Ravana's character with the following words, "Greatness and goodness are different things. In some characters they mix in good proportion. They are the salt of the earth. By example, by achievement, and by influence on history, these rare men who combine greatness and goodness are our saviours and prophets. But they are few. Ravana belonged to the class in whom greatness does not co-exist with goodness." He then proceeds to point out the splendour of Ravana's personality which fascinated many women, his greatness as a ruler and his invincible valour. How this great man became in course of time wicked and even mean owing to his insane lust is described at great length in three or four chapters.

Here and there in the course of the book, there are sage reflections on life and conduct when the author has to deal with situations and social problems in which he was himself keenly interested. The conflict of loyalties in Vibhishana's mind, the conflict between loyalty to country and loyalty to principle, to the spirit, to what may be called the law of God

has a long paragraph devoted to it. It is interesting to note that Sastriar who looked upon Bhishma as the *beau ideal* of manly wisdom and heroism justifies also the choice made by Vibhishana. As another instance may be cited his remarks on the unmerited slurs cast on women. It is to be regretted that Sastriar did not include Lanka's great queen Mandodari, within the scope of his lectures. A lesser poet would have made Ravana's consort ugly and fiendish like Surpanaka. Valmiki's greatness as an artist consists in his having endowed Mandodari with beauty almost equal to Sita's and nobility of character hardly below that of her rival.

Throughout these lectures, Sastriar expresses his conviction that great literature has a chastening and elevating influence on the character of readers who come in close contact with it. It is because of this strong belief that he confined himself to a study of Valmiki's characters. In his foreword Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar has aptly summed up the effect of these lectures:—"To those who were present at these discourses and watched the emotional breakdowns on occasions, it must have been obvious that Sastri was not without the reverence that is of the substance of religion though it might not have satisfied orthodox standards of faith".

Mr. R. Narayana Ayyar, I.C.S. (Retd.), whose profound and minute study of Valmiki's Ramayana and of every piece of printed matter connected with the story of Rama is nothing short of marvellous, has provided the book with an index and cross-references and also with an elaborate and excellent summary.

M.R.R.

A History of Sanskrit Literature. Vol. I. Classical Period. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta and Dr. S.K. De. University of Calcutta. 1947. Rs. 25/-

Of histories of Sanskrit literature available in English, the works of Keith on Drama and Literature stand foremost both in their contents and method of presentation. The only other work of similar excellence is that of Winternitz in German in three volumes, and for giving us the first two volumes of the latter work in English, we cannot adequately express our thankfulness to the authorities of the Calcutta University. The Preface to the present work says that the volume under review is an outcome of the efforts of the

Calcutta University to bring out in English the third volume of Winternitz's work. Prof. S. N. Dasgupta, well-known writer on Indian Philosophy, who was approached by the University authorities for the English rendering of the third volume of Winternitz's work, suggested that the University might as well undertake a new history of Sanskrit literature in two volumes, devoted respectively to *belles lettres* and technical sciences, edited by himself and written by different scholars of Bengal. The work was started several years back and has been, "on account of circumstances over which there was no control", delayed for six years. The central portion of the work on poetry and drama has been written by Dr. S.K. De whose writings on classical Sanskrit literary subjects are well-known; Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, the General Editor, has written, besides the Alaṅkāra section, a preface, an introduction and Editor's notes touching the contents of Dr. S. K. De's section. The result is a production of nearly 850 pages. However, the appearance of this work hardly obviates the need for the Calcutta University to bring out an English version of the remaining part of the work of Dr. Winternitz.

While Dasgupta's writings on Indian Philosophy are widely known and relied upon, his work in the field of classical Sanskrit is not known among scholars, the Kāvyavicāra of his which he mentions here many times being a Bengali work. In a work written by a philosopher, one would expect some valuable light thrown on the fundamental questions of Indian aesthetics; for any detailed discussions on Rasa, Dhvani etc. however, the author refers us to his Bengali work and prefers here to give a more or less bibliographical account of the Alaṅkāra śāstra. To those who are familiar with writings in this field, the phraseology and method of dealing with topics adopted here appear unfamiliar; under several writers, the information given is antiquated; under writers like Bhoja, it is thoroughly inadequate; there are, besides, a number of wrong statements and incorrect reproductions of names, references etc. *e.g.* Muktigarbha for Uktigarbha (p. 521); Dīpikā for Dīpaka (526); Aśmakavaṁśa a work mentioned as an author (527); Samudrānanda for Samudrabandha (545); Locana-vyākhyā-Kaumudī by Parameśvarācārya! (546); and so on. That Hṛdayadarpaṇa is not Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work (523-4), that Dhvanyāloka is a work of three parts, Kārikā, Vṛtti and Locana (540), that the real discussion on Rasa was started

by Abhinavagupta (594), etc. are statements which make one doubt the writer's regular acquaintance with the Alaṅkāra Śāstra.

The central portion of the volume, the section on poetry and drama, Dr. S. K. De's share of the work, is well-written. It is not known why an acknowledged authority on Alaṅkāra, Dr. De himself had not been entrusted with the writing of the section on poetics too. In a note at the beginning, he regrets he could not bring his section up to date; the Editorial Notes in the end attempt to supplement the information in De's section. The University authorities could as well have helped Dr. De to supplement his account, instead of leaving it to the Editor to write supplementary notes. There has obviously been a lack of co-ordination and on the same subject, for instance, the date of Kālidāsa or Bharata, Dasgupta and De take different views; besides mutual conflict between the collaborators, in Dasgupta's own observations on works and authors, different opinions are found on the same author at different places; for instance regarding the play Pārvatīpariṇaya, which after all is a negligible specimen, Dasgupta first takes it as a work of the famous Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, then takes it as a work of the late South Indian Vāmana bhaṭṭa Bāṇa, then mentions it as originally taken to be Bāṇa's but now taken as Vāmana Bāṇa's, then mentions it among Bāṇa's works, and finally again under Vāmana Bāṇa's works (pp. cxiii, 627, 686, 755, 771)! Why should there be so many and conflicting references on a minor work like this, especially after it had been well dealt with twice in De's section? There are also a number of repetitions at other places. It is to be regretted that in important undertakings like the present work, even big Universities are not able to eliminate defects caused by official difficulties, absence of co-ordination, delay in publication, etc. It is however hoped that such defects would not appear in Volume II of this work which is to appear, and that in a subsequent edition of this volume itself, they would be removed.

V. RAGHAVAN.

Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara-Balaji (Origin, Significance & History of the Shrine) by V. N. Srinivasa Rao, Tahsildar, Chittoor Dt. and Asst. Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowments (Retd.). With a Foreward by Rao Babadur

Sri N. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, Retired Judge, Madras High Court. Pp. xiv. 252. Umadevan & Co., Madras, 1949. Rs. 3-12-0.

Bhagavan Sri Venkatesvara, the presiding Deity in the temple of Tirumalai-Tirupati is the universal God of all Hindus from the Himalayas to the Cape. Northerners and Southerners, people of all sects and communities are one in their common worship of the Supreme who assumed shape as *arcāvatāra* in this famous and sacred shrine. As healer of all ills that the human flesh is heir to, as the giver of all bounties that the human heart may desire, unyielding to a degree in His exactions of the votive tributes, resplendant in form and awe-inspiring in stature, yet gently smiling at His loved devotees, peerless in the proved efficacy of trustful devotion to Him, magnificent beyond compare in the diverse aspects of His daily worship, Sri Venkatesvara commands the allegiance of millions of devout Hindus through the length and breadth of this holy land. As *Kalau Venkaṭanāyakaḥ*, He is the god of this age, standing aloft in lone majesty to reclaim humanity from its sins and to relieve it of its sufferings.

There is not only magnificence and might associated with Sri Venkatesvara. There is also an eternal mystery about Him. Is He Siva or Vishnu; is He Subrahmanya or Kālī? what is He? Stories and legends have gathered about Him through the years. The architecture of His temple is intriguing. The manner of the worships daily offered to Him, its programme and details unknown in any other shrine, the weekly holy bath to His image on Fridays only, the food offerings made to Him on a colossal scale, the material and the form of the mark on His forehead, the coincidence of His annual festival with the period of the Navarātrī, His enshrinment on a lofty hill apart from His divine Consort, the names by which He is variously hailed by different sects, all these and more deepen the mystery that surrounds Him, paralyse the thought and atrophy the speech that vainly attempts to probe into it. Rival sections of Hindus claim Him to themselves. Alas! how low do fanatics bring Divinity by their wranglings ! They forget that 'what exists is One though sages call it variously.' All these controversies stop at the outer gate, the *Simhadvāram* or *Padikāvaligopuram* as it is called. When you enter the shrine, go into the *sanctum sanctorum*, when you stand in the presence of the Supreme

Lord, do you remember the quarrel whether He is Siva or Vishnu, this or that? Do you examine the serpent armlets or the matted locks ? Do you ask why the gold case is not removed from the uplifted conch and discus even during the holy bath? Do you wonder how the Tulasi and the Bilva meet and mingle at His sacred feet? Are you not transported with a thrill and an ecstacy, every fibre of your entire being drawn by a superior Force which you would not resist even if you could, and could not even if you would, towards that mighty Form for whose *darśan* you have treked many a weary mile, which speaks to you, which inspires you and exalts you and from whose presence you retrace your steps with a heavy and unwilling tread?

The book under review is instructive and interesting; but it is also polemical. It gives a fairly detailed account of everything which a devout worshipper would wish to know about the God, the shrine, its administration and the daily ritual in it. But its main purpose is to dispute the thesis of the late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar that Sri Venkatesvara is Vishnu only and is not to be identified with Siva or any other aspect of the Godhead. The present author has marshalled a number of facts to support his contention that the Vaishnavites cannot claim monopoly of Sri Venkatesvara. He holds that there is considerable evidence in favour of the view that it is a Subrahmanya shrine and that the one dedicated to Vishnu and sung about by the *ālvārs* was somewhere near Tiruchanoor. One feels, however, that the theories of the kind set forth alike in this book and in that of Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar are, while not being historically final, productive of rancour and acrimony. The average Hindu who goes to worship at this shrine is a devotee and not a scholar.

Yet, Sri Srinivasa Rao's book is a valuable publication for the wealth and variety of information that it provides. It is well documented. The *Sawal-e-Jawab* extracted in its pages gives the history of the temple administration including the vicissitudes that it has had to pass through down to the present day. The author's suggestions for improvements in the several aspects of the government of the shrine deserve careful consideration by the authorities. Tirupati Venkatesvara, like the Himalaya, the Ganga and the Setu, is eternal and He is symbolic of the strength and power of the Hindu religion, its universality and its catholicity. This book

about Him and His shrine is lucidly written and provides an abundance of useful and interesting information. The claim made for it, that it is an attempt to appeal to the pilgrim, to the scholar and to the politician is eminently justified by its contents. The printing and the get-up are good; the photographs add to its attractiveness.

P. SANKARANARAYANAN.

Bhagavad Gītā. By Pandit Shripad Damodor Satwalekar. Swadhyaya Mandal, Anandasrama, Pardi, Satara District. Vol. I. Rs. 4; Vol. II. Rs. 1-8-0.

Though we have innumerable works expounding the Gītā, this work is valuable as it pursues a path of its own. The author's main endeavour is to show how the Gītā treats the earlier classics viz. the Vedas and especially the Upanishads, and to demonstrate the inner unity of the teachings in the Vedas, in the Upanishads and in the Gītā. He says: "The truth is that the Science of the Gītā is meant to expound one principle which underlies the different principles and comprehends them all and thus reconciles them". Volume I and II give us us a translation and exposition of Chapters I to III, and Chapter IV, of the Gītā respectively.

The author takes each group of verses dealing with a particular subject-matter and translates and expound them. He points out how the conflict in the Mahabharata is between the 'possessor' (Dhṛta-rāshtra) and the 'dispossessed' (Hṛta-rāshtra). Dhritarashtra has moral blindness of which his physical blindness is symbolical. He and his supporters committed a sin and reaped death as the wages of that sin. Yudhishthira symbolised Dharma and Ahimsa and was known as Ajatasatru. The author explains also the mysticism of the number 18 relating to the Parvas of the epic, the chapters in the Gītā, the forces (Akshouhinis) engaged in the war and the duration of the war. The war is as much on the moral plane as on the physical plane. The author explains why Arjuna (the son of Indra who presides over the mind) and Hanuman (the son of Vayu who presides over the breath) are together in the same chariot. The breath and the mind must co-operate in the chariot of the body to achieve the goal of supreme attainment.

I have stated above one line of the author's exposition as a sample of his method. He stresses also the higher human

law of interdependence and sacrifice as being of essence of the Gītā. He stresses also the law of resistance to evil to wipe out sin, though the higher law is that of Ahimsa. How the stress of modern ideologies is brought by modern interpreters can be seen from a sentence which occurs at page 83: "A war waged by people trying for Swarajya is necessary to remove the evil created by the contemporary administrators and is also just".

The author says at p. 97: "We therefore should like to have "Purushottama yoga" as the proper title for the Gītā. . . . If any other title is sought it should be "Sāmya yoga", the science of equanimity. . . . So it can be said positively that the Gītā is preached to establish peace and equanimity in the world."

In Chapter II the author enters into an elaborate discussion about the self and its sheaths (Kosas) and about Karma yoga helping in the individual's transcending limitedness and attaining infiniteness (page 237) by attaining the state of the *Sthitaprajna*. Nara can attain the state of Narayana and Jiva can become Siva (page 280).

The author's exposition of Chapter III is very elaborate and covers nearly 300 pages. It deals with the gospel of Svakarma and Svadharma. Action done in the true *yajña*-spirit is a liberator.

Chapter IV also is equally elaborately treated and consists of 250 pages. The author expounds with great elaboration the doctrine of divine incarnation and divine action (janma karma cha me divyam).

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

OBITUARY

ULLOOR S. PARAMESVARA AYYAR

Mahakavi Sahityabhushanam Ulloor S. Paramesvara Ayyar passed away on 15—6—1949 at Trivandrum after a period of illness. 72 at the time of his demise, Ulloor, as he was familiary referred to, died full of years and honours. In his death, Malayalam and Sanskrit have lost an illustrious poet, a versatile scholar and an indefatigable writer on literary history.

Sri Paramesvara Ayyar, who retired from the Travancore Government service as Dewan Peishkar in 1925, was actively engaged in literary activities till his last days. For over three decades, he was connected with the Madras University as an Examiner and Member of Board of Studies in Malayalam ; at the Travancore University, he was the Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Learning and Fine Arts and was connected as adviser and director with the Mss. Library and the Central Records.

His high poetic attainments gained for him the title of Mahakavi from H. H. the Maharajah of Travancore. His works and articles are too numerous to mention. His last great work which he gave to the Travancore University is a history of language and literature called *Bhāṣāsāhityam* in six volumes.

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TOLKĀPPIYAM

Section III-Poruḷ-atikāram

புறத்திணையியல்

Puṟattiṇai-y-iyal

(Chapter on theme describing conduct as regards war, state-affairs etc.)

58. அகத்திணை மருங்கி னரிறப வுணர்ந்தோர்
புறத்திணை யிலக்கணந் திறப்படக் கிளப்பின்
வெட்சி தானே குறிஞ்சியது புறனே
உட்கு வரத்தோன்று மீரேழ் துறைத்தே.

Akattiṇai maruṅki ṉ-ariṟapa v-uṇarntōr
Puṟattiṇai y-ilakkaṇan tiṟappaṭa-k kiḷappiṉ
Veṭci tāṉ-e kuṟiñci-y-atu puṟaṉ-ē
Uṭku-vara-t tōṉṟu m-īr-ēḻ tuṟaittē.

When those who have correctly understood the classification of *akattiṇai* begin to describe clearly the nature of *puṟattiṇai,* (they say) *veṭci* is the *puṟattiṇai* corresponding to the *akattiṇai kuṟiñci* and is clearly of fourteen *tuṟai* or minor themes.

Note. 1. The lines 3 and 4 of this sūtra should, in my opinion, form the second sūtra. The third and fourth lines of this sūtra should have been left out by mistake by the scribe. They may be reconstructed thus :

வெட்சி முதலாப் பாடா ணிறுவாய்
முற்படக் கிளந்த வெழுதிணை யென்ப

Veṭci mutal-ā-p pāṭā ṇ-iṟuvāy
Muṟ-paṭa-k kiḷanta v-eḻutiṇai y-eṉpa

(were classified into seven by the predecessors beginning with *veṭci* and ending with *pāṭāṇ*).

This suggested to me when I compared this sūtra with the first sūtra of the *Akattiṇai-y-iyal.*

It is worth noting that *Iḷampūraṇar* mentions under the 45th sūtra of the Akattiṇai-y-iyal that the sūtra dealing with lady-love is missing.

Note. 2. Even though Tolkāppiyaṉār has mentioned that *puṟattiṇai* is of seven kinds, the later works, *Paṉṉiru-*

paṭalam and *Pur̲apporuḷveṇpā-mālai* mention *nine* and *twelve* kinds respectively.

Note. 3. Since the root *uṭku* means to fear, to be great, I have translated *uṭkuvara* into 'clearly' though Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar takes it to mean *añcu-taka* (deserving fear).

Note. 4. The words *veṭci* etc. owe the names to the flowers worn on the occasion.

Note. 5. *Veṭci* is said to be the *pur̲an̲* of *kur̲iñci* since both have mountains and their surroundings for their region, since cows are taken away without the knowledge of the owner in the same way as lady-loves are wooed without the knowledge of their parents, since the flowers *veṭci* and *kur̲iñci* are found in the same region, and since the operation is at nights in both.

What is the nature of *veṭci* ?

59. வேந்துவிடு முனைஞர் வேற்றுப்புலக் களவின்
ஆதந் தோம்பன் மேவற் றாகும்.

Vēntu-viṭu mun̲aiñar vēr̲r̲u-p pula-k kaḷavin̲
Ā-tan t-ōmpan̲ mēvar̲ r̲-ākum.

(Veṭci) has for its nature the commander of an army, at the instance of the king, taking away the cows of the enemies without their knowledge and keeping them safe.

Note. 1. The subject of *ākum* is *veṭci* taken here from the previous sūtra ; *mēvar̲r̲ŭ* forms the subjective complement of *ākum*.

Note. 2. *Vēntŭ* is formed by dropping *an̲* from *vēntan̲*.

Note. 3. The word *mun̲aiñar* is interpreted as the *residents of the border villages* by *Iḷampūraṇar* and *commanders* by Naccin̲ārkkin̲iyar.

Note. 4. *Vēr̲r̲u-p-pulam* is a compound of *vēr̲ŭ* and *pulam* and means *the land of another* (*i.e.*) the territory of the enemy and is in the fifth case with the case-suffix being dropped.

Note. 5. *Kaḷavin̲* may be taken as the third case with the suffix being dropped.

Note. 6. *Tantŭ* means *koṇṭu-vantŭ* (having brought) in some places in the ancient Tamil. This meaning is obsolete and the word now means only *having given*.

Note. 7. *Ōmpal* is the object of *mēvar̲r̲ŭ* ; mevar̲r̲ŭ is formed by adding *tu* to *mēval*.

What are the fourteen *tuṟais* of *veṭci* ?

60. படையியங் கரவம் பாக்கத்து விரிச்சி
புடைகெடப் போகிய செலவே புடைகெட
ஒற்றி னாகிய வேயே வேய்ப்புறம்
முற்றி னாகிய புறத்திறை முற்றிய
ஊர்கொலை யாகோள் பூசன் மாற்றே
நோயின் றுய்த்த னுவல்வழித் தோற்றம்
தந்துநிரை பாதீ டுண்டாட்டுக் கொடையென
வந்த வீரேழ் வகையிற் றாகும்.

Paṭai-y-iyaṅ k-aravam pākkattu viricci
Puṭai-keṭa-p pōkiya celav-ē puṭai-keṭa
Oṟṟi ṉ-ākiya vēy-ē vēy-p-puṟam
Muṟṟi ṉ-ākiya puṟatt-iṟai muṟṟiya
Ūr-kolai y-ā-kōḷ pūcaṉ māṟṟ-ē
Nōy-iṉ ṟ-uytta [1]*ṉuval-vaḻi-t tōṟṟam*
Tantu-nirai pātī ṭ-uṇṭāṭṭu-k koṭai-y-eṉa
Vanta v-īr-ēḻ vakai-y-iṟ ṟ-ākum.

Veṭci is of the following fourteen kinds: (1) the noise of trumpet, (2) words of unseen men in neighbouring villages serving as omen, (3) expedition without being seen by the enemy, (4) report of the spies without being seen by the enemy, (5) staying around the place suggested by the spies, (6) massacring the residents of the place, (7) taking away the cows, (8) successfully emerging from the conflict with the enemies, (9) not exposing the cows to misery, (10) appearing at the place suggested (by their own people), (11) stationing the cows taken, (12) classifying the cows, (13) pleasure-party with food, drink and dance, and (14) giving away the cows (to the needy).

Note. 1. Passages illustrating the above may be seen in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Patiṟṟuppattu*, *Puṟapporuḷ-veṇpā-mālai* etc.

Note. 2. Naccinārkkiṉiyar takes the above fourteen kinds to refer to both cases, when the cows are taken away and when they are retrieved. Hence fourteen, according to him, is doubled.

Besides,

61. மறங்கடைக் கூட்டிய [2] துடிநிலை சிறந்த
கொற்றவை நிலையு மத்திணைப் புறனே.

---

[1] Nuval-vaḻi (Iḷam)
Nuvaluḻi (Nac.)
[2] Kuṭi-nilai (Iḷam)
Ṭuṭi-nilai (Nac.)

Maṟaṅ-kaṭai-k kūṭṭiya tuṭi-nilai ciṟanta
Koṟṟavai nilai-y-u m-a-t-tiṇai-p puṟaṉ-ē.

Mustering the courage of the warriors by beating the *tuṭi* drum and offering sacrifice and worship to *Durgā* are taken to be the *puṟam* of that *tiṇai*.

Note. 1. *A-t-tiṇai*, according to Iḷampūraṇam, refers to *kuṟiñci* and according to Ṉacciṉārkkiṉiyam, to *veṭci*. Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation seems to be sound.

Note. 2. Worship of Durgā by Dharmaputra at the commencement of the *Virāṭaparvan* and by Arjuna at the commencement of war at Kurukṣetra in the Mahābhārata is worth comparison here.

Note. 3. *Kuṭi-nilai,* according to Iḷampūraṇam, refers to the high state of the family of warriors.

Note. 4. Iḷampūraṇar tells us that the second line suggests that *Koṟṟavai* or *Durgā* was also the presiding deity of kuṟiñci.

62. அன்றியும்[1]
வெறியறி சிறப்பின் வெவ்வாய் வேலன்
வெறியாட் டயர்ந்த காந்தளு முறபகை
வேந்திடை தெரிதல் வேண்டி யேந்துபுகழ்ப்
போந்தை வேம்பே யாரென வரூஉம்
மாபெருந் தானையர் மலைந்த பூவும்
வாடா வள்ளி வயவ ரேத்திய
ஓடாக் கழனிலை யுளப்பட வோடா
உடல்வேந் தடுக்கிய வுன்ன நிலையும்
மாயோன் மேய மன்பெருஞ் சிறப்பின்
தாவா விழுப்புகழ்ப் பூவை நிலையும்
ஆரம ரோட்டலு மாபெயர்த்துத் தருதலும்
சீர்சால் வேந்தன் சிறப்பெடுத் துரைத்தலும்
தலைத்தா ணெடுமொழி தன்னொடு புணர்த்தலும்
அனைக்குரி மரபினது கரந்தை யன்றியும்
வருதார் தாங்கல் வாள்வாய்த்துக் கவிழ்தலென்று
இருவகைப் பட்ட பிள்ளை நிலையும்
வாண்மலைந் தெழுந்தோனை மகிழ்ந்துபறை தூங்க
நாடவற் கருளிய பிள்ளை யாட்டும்
காட்சி கல்கோ ணீர்ப்படை நடுதல்[2]
சீர்த்த மரபிற் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தலென்று

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1. It seems அன்றியும் was left out by the scribe.
2. காட்சி கல்கோ ணீர்ப்படை நடுதல்
சீர்த்தமரபிற் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தாலன்று

இருமூன்று மரபிற் கல்லொடு புணரச்
சொல்லப் பட்ட வெழுமூன்று துறைத்தே.

Aṉṟiyum
Veṟi-y-aṟi ciṟappiṉ vev-vāy vēlaṉ
Veṟi-yāṭ ṭ-ayarnta kāntaḷ-u m-uṟu-pakai
Vēnt-iṭai teriṭal vēṇṭi y-ēntu-pukaḻ-p
Pōntai vēmpē y-ār-eṉa varūum
Mā-perun tāṉaiyar malainta pū-v-um
Vāṭā vaḷḷi vayava r-ēttiya
Ōṭā-k-kaḻaṉilai y-uḷa-p-paṭa v-ōṭā
Ūṭal-vēn t-aṭukkiya v-uṉṉa nilai-y-um
Māyōṉ mēya maṉ-peruñ ciṟappiṉ
Tāvā viḻu-p-pukaḻ-p pūvai nilai-y-um
Ār-ama r-ōṭṭal-u mā-peyarttu-t tarutalum
Cīr-cāl vēntaṉ ciṟapp-eṭu-t t-uraittalum
Talai-t-tā ṇeṭumoḻi taṉṉoṭu puṇarttal-um
Aṉai-k-kuri marapiṉatu karantai y-aṉṟiyum
Varu-tār tāṅkal vāḷ-vāyttu-k kaviḻtal-eṉṟu
Iru-vakai-p paṭṭa piḷḷai nilai-y-um
Vāṉ-malain t-eḻuntōṉai makiḻntu-paṟaitūṅka
Nāṭ-avaṟ k-aruḷiya piḷḷai y-āṭṭum
Kāṭci kal-kō ṇīr-p-paṭai naṭutal
Cīrtta marapiṟ perum-paṭai vāḻttal-eṉṟu
Iru-mūṉṟu marapir kalloṭu puṇara-c
Collap paṭṭa eḻu-mūṉṟu tuṟaittē.

Veṭci is, in addition, of the following twenty-one *tuṟais*: (1) dance under the possession of Skanda by a priest who is an adept in it and who expresses the ideas in seriousness, (2-4) wearing of the flowers of palmyra, margosa and common mountain ebony by the renowned warriors of vast and great armies to distinguish themselves from the kings of great enmity[1], (5) a kind of dance called vāṭā-vaḷḷi, (6) the state of anklet not slipping and being extolled by warriors[2] (7)

இருமூன்று மரபின் . . . . (இளம்)
காட்சி கால்கோ ணீர்ப்படை நடுகல்
சீர்த்தகு சிறப்பின் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தலென்று
இருமூன்று வகையின் . . . . . . (நச்)

[1] Naccinārkkiniyar takes the *anvaya* '*mā-varum pukaḻ ēntum peruntāṉaiyar*' which means those having great armies famous through animals.

[2] Naccinārkkiniyar's interpretation is this: the state of warriors extolling one and providing him with anklets when he stands still in the battlefield.

invoking an *uṉṉam* tree for omens before battle by warriors fierce and not receding from the place of action, (8) praising the bilberry flower that it resembles Viṣṇu in colour and hence it is noted for unfailing fame or comparing great men with Lord Viṣṇu and other gods of unfailing fame, (9) making a terrible fight against those (who took away the cows)[1], (10) taking back the cows, (11) extolling the superioriity of the famous king, (12) warriors taking terrible vows within themselves with reference to the fulfilment of their pledge-six to ten belonging to *karantai*-(13 & 14), the two *piḷḷai-nilai* of resisting the onslaughts of the enemy and falling a prey to the sword in battle, (15) the *piḷḷai-y-āṭṭu* of sending the fallen warriors to *svarga* with the beating of drums[2], (16) finding the memorial stone, (17) taking away the memorial stone, (18) washing it with water, (19) fixing the same, (20) making the necessary inscription with due honour, and (21) extolling the same.

Note. 1. Iḷampūraṇar says that the above twentyone also are the tuṟai of *veṭci-t-tiṇai*, since they happen when the cows are taken back. He also says that they may form the *tuṟai* of other *tiṇais*. But Ṉaccinārkkiṉiyar mentions that this sūtra deals with the seven *vaḻu* (faults) common to all the *puṟattiṇais* and explains how eleven out of twenty-one form *vaḻu*, since they are concerned not with kings, but with soldiers, subjects etc. Since he has explained eleven to be *vaḻu*, it is not easy to understand why he says *vaḻu ēlum* at the commencement. He also tells us that these twenty-one are found in all the *puṟa-t-tiṇai* and some in *akattiṇai* also.

Note. 2. Naccinārkkiṉiyar takes *vēlaṉ* in the sūtra to be an *upalakṣaṇa* to *kaṇi-kāriyai* (woman fortune-teller)

Note 3. Naccinārkkiṉiyar takes the reading *kāl-kōḷ* in line 19 in place of the reading *kal-kōḷ* taken by Iḷampūraṇar. *Kal-kōḷ*, according to him means 'commencing the sculpture of the figure of a warrior who died in battle, on a memorial stone'.

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[1] Naccinārkkiṉiyar interprets this thus-fleeing from terrible fight, being defeated by those who took away the cows. This does not fit in with what immediately follows.

[2] Naccinārkkiṉiyar interprets this thus:—the dance in honour of the prince being installed in the kingdom with the beating of drums by the people rejoicing that he had emerged successfully from fight.

Note. 4. The twenty one *tuṟais* mentioned here are classified under three heads: (1) those that precede *ār-amar-ōṭṭal* which are *eight* in number, those that commence from *ār-amar-ōṭṭal* and end with *piḷḷai-y-āṭṭu* which are seven in number and which are taken under *karantai-t-tiṇai* by later scholars and those that deal with memorial stone, which are *six* in number.

Note. 5. *Naṭutal* is the reading of Iḷampūraṇar and *naṭukal* is the reading of Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar in line 19. The former reading is better since it is in consonance with *perum-paṭai vāḻttal* etc.

Note. 6. Since these twentyone do not directly deal with the heroism of kings, they are mentioned in a separate sūtra. Since they follow the taking of cows, they are taken under *veṭci-t-tiṇai.*

Note, 7. The phrase '*vēlaṉmutal-āka*' at the beginning of Iḷampūraṇam under this sūtra does not seem to convey any sense. It may be dropped.

63. வஞ்சி தானே முல்லையது புறனே
எஞ்சா மண்ணசை வேந்தனை வேந்தன்
அஞ்சுதகத் தலைச்சென் றடல்குறித் தன்றே[1]

Vañci tāṉ--ē mullai-y-atu puṟaṉ-ē
Eñcā maṇ-ṇacai vēntaṉai vēntaṉ
Añcutaka-t talai-c-ceṉ ṟ-aṭal-kuṟit t-aṉṟ-ē.

Vañci is the *puṟaṉ* of *mullai* ; it consists of one king ferociously advancing towards another to kill him when the latter wants to take possession of a land which the former wants for himself.

Note. 1. Since water and shade are necessary for one army to advance against another and there will be separation between warriors and *their wives, vañci is taken to be the puṟaṉ of mullai.*

What are the *tuṟais* of *vañci* ?

64. இயங்குபடை யரவ மெரிபரந் தெடுத்தல்
வயங்க லெய்திய பெருமை யானும்
கொடுத்த லெய்திய கொடைமை யானும்
அடுத்தூர்ந் தட்ட கொற்றத் தானும்
மாராயம் பெற்ற நெடுமொழி யானும்

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[1] Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar takes the first line as a sūtra and the other two as another *sūtra*.

பொருளின் றுய்த்த பேராண் பக்கமும்
வருவிசைப் புனலைக் கற்சிறை போல
ஒருவன் றாங்கிய பெருமை யானும்
பிண்ட மேய பெருஞ்சோற்று நிலையும்
வென்றோர் விளக்கமுந் தோற்றோர் தேய்வும்
குன்றாச் சிறப்பிற் கொற்ற வள்ளையும்
அழிபடை தட்டோர் தழிஞ்சியொடு தொகைஇக்
கழிபெருஞ் சிறப்பிற் றுறைபதின் மூன்றே.

Iyaṅku-paṭai y-arava m-eri-paran t-eṭuttal
Vayaṅka l-eytiya perumai yāṉ-um
Koṭutta l-eytiya koṭaimai yāṉ-um
Aṭutt-ūrn t-aṭṭa koṟṟat tāṉ-um
Mārāyam peṟṟa neṭu-moḻi yaṉ-um
Poruḷiṉ ṟ-uytta pēr-āṇ pakkam-um
Varu-vicai-p puṉalai-k kaṟ-ciṟai pōla
Oruvaṉ ṟāṅkiya perumai yāṉ-um
Piṇṭa mēya peruñ-coṟṟu nilai-y-um
Veṉṟōr viḷakkam-un tōṟṟōr tēyv-um
Kuṉṟā-c ciṟappiṟ koṟṟa vaḷḷai-y-um
Aḻi-paṭai taṭṭōr taḻiñciyoṭu tokai-i-k
Kaḻi-peruñ ciṟappiṟ ṟuṟai-patiṉ mūṉṟ-ē.

There are thirteen highly meritorious *turais* to *vañci* :—

(1) The din arising from the two armies, (2) setting fire on a large scale, (3) the greatness well exhibited, (4) giving away (weapons of warfare to soldiers) and presents, (5) heroism shown in killing (the enemies) by slowly approaching them, (6) words of congratulation on the military honour conferred upon by kings, (7) the highly valorous part of the army rushing against the enemy considering them to be insignificant, (8) the greatness of one resisting the attacks of the enemy like a stone, a huge flood, (9) the state of having large provisions of food, (10) the lustre of the victorious, (11) the dimness of the defeated, (12) the tribute (received from the enemy) on account of unmitigated valour or regretting the destruction of the enemy's country on account of unmitigated valour, and (13) the honour and presents offered to those who were maimed in battle.

Note. 1. The word *vañci* is taken here from the previous sūtra and is changed to *vancikkū*.

Note. 2. *Koṟṟavaḷḷai* mentioned in line 11 of this sūtra is mentioned by Iḷampūraṇar under sūtra 86 that it forms a

यन्त्रमुक्तेन बाणेन प्रहतः पतितो मृगः।
अपजह्रुः किरातास्तं किशोरं द्वीपिना सह ॥ १०५ ॥

मृत्युहस्तादयं रक्ष्यो भवता भर्तृदारकः।
ज्यायानप्यस्य मत्पुत्रीकरे किं नु करोत्यसौ ॥ १०६ ॥

इत्याकर्ण्य ततस्तूर्णं गच्छन् प्रच्छन्नमन्तिकात्।
कुमारवधगृध्नूनां तेषामशृणवं गिरम् ॥ १०७ ॥

भिद्यतामयमस्त्रौघैर्मज्यतां वा महाह्रदे।
अथवा शस्त्रकृत्ताङ्गः क्षिप्यतां चण्डिकागृहे ॥ १०८ ॥

इत्थं जल्पत एवामूनभ्येत्य द्रुतमभ्यधाम्।
शिशोरस्य वधे कल्पं जानामि स्फुटमित्यहम् ॥ १०९ ॥

ततः कुतूहलाविष्टैः पृष्टस्तानहमब्रवम्।
गुणवानुपहारोऽयं तस्मादुपदिशामि वः ॥ ११० ॥

अक्षतस्वस्थसर्वाङ्गं भूषयित्वा कुमारकम्।
यतध्वं विन्ध्यवासिन्यै दातुं मरकशान्तये ॥ १११ ॥

हतं पापं प्रसन्नास्मीत्युक्ते प्रत्यक्षया तया।
अपृष्ठालोकिनस्तावद् दत्वैवं गम्यतामिति ॥ ११२ ॥

अथाहं निर्गतश्छन्नं निषण्णश्चण्डिकागृहे।
निशीथे शिशुमादाय प्राप्तं व्याधमलक्षयम् ॥ ११३ ॥

स सर्वं पूर्वनिर्दिष्टं निर्विचारमचेष्टत।
देवतेव गृहीत्वैनं प्रागुक्तां गिरमब्रवम् ॥ ११४ ॥

गते तस्मिन्निवृत्तस्ते प्रजापालाय बालकम्।
अर्पयित्वा यथाकामं गमिष्यामीत्युपस्थितः ॥ ११५ ॥

इत्याकर्ण्याब्रवीद् राजा विचित्रा विधिवृत्तयः।
अहो खल्वप्रतर्क्योऽयं पुत्रयोर्मे समागमः ॥ ११६ ॥

कथं नु रत्नोद्भवकामपालयो-
र्वयस्ययोस्तस्य च सत्यशर्मणः।

श्रृणोमि वार्तामपि पुत्रकाविमौ
समानयन् किं न करोति मे विधिः ॥ ११७ ॥

इत्यादिष्टे नृपेण प्रियतम ! क्व इमे नामतोऽप्यश्रुता मे
मैत्रीपात्रं तवामी किमिति वसुमतीवाक्यमाकर्ण्य भूयः ।
आनन्दार्द्रेण राज्ञा त्वमसि परवती देवि ! शुश्रूषया चेत्
प्रख्यातं प्रारभे त्वद्गुरुजनचरितं वक्तुमित्याबभाषे ॥ ११८ ॥

इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे
तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथोपचक्रमे वक्तुं विचित्रं मित्रवत्सलः ।
गुरूणां चरितं देव्याश्चिराभिलषितं नृपः ॥ १ ॥

पितुर्मे धर्मसाचिव्यं कुर्वाणाः सुहृदोऽभवन् ।
मतिशर्मा धर्मपालः पद्मोद्भव इति त्रयः ॥ २ ॥

प्रथमौ कथितौ तेषाम् अग्रण्यावग्रजन्मनाम् ।
तृतीयस्तु वणिग्वंश्यस्तस्य विस्तारिणी कथा ॥ ३ ॥

वैवस्वतो मनुर्योऽसौ तस्येक्ष्वाकुरभूत् सुतः ।
कनिष्ठः किल तस्यासीन्ना[1]भागोऽरिष्ट इत्यपि ॥ ४ ॥

तस्माद्धा[2]लन्दनो नाम वणिक्पतिरजायत ।
[3]हालन्दनायनस्त्वेकः ख्यातः पोतप इत्यभूत् ॥ ५ ॥

तं कदाचन चाणक्यनीत्या नन्दपदे स्थितः ।
चन्द्रगुप्तो महामूल्यां मुक्तावलिमयाचत ॥ ६ ॥

तथेति स पुनर्गेहं गच्छन्नातपमूर्छितः ।
कयाचित् स्वगृहं नीत्वा प्राणितः पुरयोषिता ॥ ७ ॥

तेन प्राणोपकारिण्यै दत्ता मुक्तावली च सा ।
ततो राजकुलं वेश्या विवेश तदलंकृता ॥ ८ ॥

1. नेदि. क. 2. द्वा 3. बालन्दनानुजन्मान्यः

प्रत्यभिज्ञाय तां राजा तमाहूय च पोतपम् ।
चोदयामास राजार्हां दर्शयैकावलीमिति ॥ ९ ॥

सोऽब्रवीत् प्राणदायिन्यै प्रीतिदायः कृतो मया ।
सन्त्यन्यानि च रत्नानि स्वेच्छार्हं गृह्यतामिति ॥ १० ॥

ततः क्रुद्धाय सावज्ञं व्यज्ञापयत पोतपः ।
दत्तासंकीर्तनं धर्मस्तथापि कथयामि ते ॥ ११ ॥

अम्बुराशौ पुरा भ्राम्यन्नद्राक्षं पुरुषं क्वचित् ।
पाशबद्धं त्रिपाश्यैनं शोकहेतुं च पृष्टवान् ॥ १२ ॥

दुर्विधत्वमिति श्रुत्वा सर्वस्वं तस्य दत्तवान् ।
पत्तनानि चरन् भूयो वित्तानि भृशमार्जयम् ॥ १३ ॥

तथान्यानि च दत्तानि नैका मुक्तावली मया ।
इत्युक्ते स पुमानस्मीत्यभ्यधायि महीभृता ॥ १४ ॥

ततः प्रीतेन भूभर्त्रा विसृष्टः पुत्रलिप्सया ।
विप्रसात्कृतसर्वस्वश्चकार तपसे धृतिम् ॥ १५ ॥

अभ्येत्य ब्राह्मणच्छद्मा गुह्यकस्तमुपह्वरे ।
धनाधिपतिसंदिष्टं निर्देष्टुमुपचक्रमे ॥ १६ ॥

अद्य खल्ववनीभर्ता तपस्यति रिपुंजयः ।
तस्मिन् काले विशालायां वीतिहोत्रादनन्तरम् ॥ १७ ॥

प्रद्योतादिष्वतीतेषु क्रमेण नृपतिष्वभूत् ।
महानन्दीति तद्राज्ये महन्नृत्तमवर्तत ॥ १८ ॥

प्रैक्षेतां मानुषाकारौ शङ्खपद्मनिधी च तत् ।
पद्मस्तयोर्निरुद्धोऽभूत् केनचिन्मन्त्रवादिना ॥ १९ ॥

अर्थवृष्ट्या विसृष्टः स प्रत्याहर्तुं च तद् वसु ।
महापद्म इति ख्यातः पुत्रोऽभूत्तस्य भूपतेः ॥ २० ॥

स संजहार सर्वस्यां वित्तराशिमशेषतः ।
पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपालस्तस्मिन् काले द्विजोत्तमः ॥ २१ ॥

आसीत् कलापिनामास्य कन्या कात्यायनीत्यभूत् ।
अन्तर्वत्नी च सा कन्या जाता वैतानवह्निना ॥ २२ ॥

त्यक्ता दुष्टेति सा पित्रा साक्षाद्भूय हविर्भुजा ।
नीता गोदावरीं तत्र प्रासा वररुचिं सुतम् ॥ २३ ॥

पञ्चवर्षे वररुचौ तद्गृहं जग्मतुर्द्विजौ ।
एकस्तयोरभूद् व्याळिरिन्द्रदत्तस्ततोऽपरः ॥ २४ ॥

तयोर्विश्रान्तयोस्तस्मिन् नृत्तं दृष्ट्वा विलम्बितः ।
प्रदोषे गतभूयिष्ठे ययौ वररुचिर्गृहम् ॥ २५ ॥

ततः कुपितया मात्रा प्रयोगायाभिचोदितः ।
सर्वमेव यथादृष्टं दर्शयामास चेष्टया ॥ २६ ॥

दृष्ट्वैतद् विस्मितो व्याळिस्तन्मातरमभाषत ।
भद्रे ! भानोरहं सूनुर्व्याळिर्नाम द्विजन्मनः ॥ २७ ॥

लालयन्नेकपुत्रं मां नैवाध्यापितवान् पिता ।
अकृतद्विजसंस्कारं परिणाययति स्म माम् ॥ २८ ॥

एकदा दयितापादरञ्जनव्यापृते मयि ।
भिक्षार्थी तत्र मद्भार्यां दृष्ट्वास्मयत मस्करी ॥ २९ ॥

ततस्तस्मै स्मितं कृत्वा भिक्षां दत्तवती च सा ।
मया किमिति निर्बद्धा स्मितहेतुमवोचत ॥ ३० ॥

मूषिकाहं महाभागेनामुना चास्मि वर्धिता ।
जातु स्नातुं गतं भक्त्या छन्नमेवैनमन्वयाम् ॥ ३१ ॥

तत्र श्येनगृहीताहं तन्मुखाज्जाह्नवीजले ।
पतन्ती तीर्थमरणात् प्रपन्ना जातिमुत्तमाम् ॥ ३२ ॥

दृष्ट्वैतद् भर्तृवाल्लभ्यं तत्सर्वं स्मरतो मुनेः ।
अजनि स्मितमित्युक्त्वा संतस्थे किमपि प्रिया ॥ ३३ ॥

क्रन्दतो मे मुनिर्मोहं निनीषुर्मामशिश्वसत् ।
प्रव्रज्यां ग्राहितस्तस्माद् योगविद्यामशिक्षयम् ॥ ३४ ॥

अशास्त्रज्ञतया भूयः परिव्राजकसन्निधौ ।
निन्दितो मूढयोगीति [1]स्वामिधाराभधारयम् ॥ ३५ ॥

आदिष्टश्च कुमारेण लब्ध्वा श्रुतधरं ततः ।
उपवर्षं भजस्वेति सोऽयमासादितोऽधुना ॥ ३६ ॥

इत्युक्ते सोऽभ्यधत्तान्य इन्द्रदत्तोऽस्मि नामतः ।
गुरोर्गोपालकस्याहं शिष्यः कांपिल्यदेशजः ॥ ३७ ॥

विरूपेति विरुद्धाख्या कन्यासीत्तस्य तां पुनः ।
सर्वविद्यावते दातुं स संकल्पितवान् पिता ॥ ३८ ॥

तस्या मम च संजज्ञे गाढं प्रेम परस्परम् ।
अनन्योपायलभ्यत्वाद् विद्योपायमचिन्तयम् ॥ ३९ ॥

ततः स्वामिगृहं गत्वा सुब्रह्मण्यमतोषयम् ।
आज्ञप्तस्त्वेवमेवाहं देवेन पुनरागतः ॥ ४० ॥

विद्याध्ययानभागी च भविष्यत्ययमर्भकः ।
एकसन्धः स नो हस्ते तद् भद्रे ! दीयतां सुतः ॥ ४१ ॥

इत्युक्ता वह्निनाप्येतद् बोधिता पूर्वमेव सा ।
रुदती पुत्रवात्सल्यात् कथमप्यभ्युपागमत् ॥ ४२ ॥

कृतोपनयनं चैनमादाय मुदिताशयौ ।
उपवर्षगृहाभ्याशं प्रतस्थाते द्विजोत्तमौ ॥ ४३ ॥

तेनापि कश्चिदर्थीति विस्मिताज्जनतामुखात् ।
उपवर्षगृहं श्रुत्वा जग्मुर्वर्षगृहान्तिके ॥ ४४ ॥

उपाध्यायः क्वेति पृष्टा तत्पत्नी रुष्टमानसा ।
अलं मा परिहस्येति पर्यश्रुनयनाभवत् ॥ ४५ ॥

ततः क्षेत्रादुपावृत्तः स्कन्धन्यस्तहलादिकः ।
उपवर्षः स तान् दृष्ट्वा विश्रान्तः पुनरब्रवीत् ॥ ४६ ॥

कतमः श्रुतधारीति तौ कात्यायनमूचतुः ।
प्रहृष्यन्नुपवर्षस्तान् विविक्त इदमब्रवीत् ॥ ४७ ॥

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1. सोऽसि. ग.

अस्मिन् वर्षोपवर्षाख्यावभूतां सहजौ द्विजौ ।
वर्षस्तयोर्महाविद्वान् उपवर्षः कृषीवलः ॥ ४८ ॥

माभूवं मूर्खजायेति ज्येष्ठभार्या कदाचन ।
मूर्खाय कशिपुं दत्वा धार्यं व्रतमधारयत् ॥ ४९ ॥

मूर्खोचितमसौ गृह्णन्नुपवर्षः स्वभार्यया ।
कदर्थितो रुदत्याथ व्रीळात् स्वामिगृहं ययौ ॥ ५० ॥

तत्र प्रियङ्गूनुप्त्वासौ हव्यशेषजिघित्सया ।
वृषजग्धे पुनश्चैवं [1]यावत्कालमुपावसत् ॥ ॥ ५१ ॥

ततः प्रसन्नः सेनानीः प्रत्यक्षीभूय वाङ्मयम् ।
तष्ट्वा टङ्केन तज्जिह्वां किमपि क्षिप्तवान् मुखे ॥ ५२ ॥

एकसन्धाहृते नैतां विद्यामध्यापयेति तम् ।
अभिधाय गतो देवः सोऽस्म्यहं तदधीयताम् ॥ ५३ ॥

इत्युक्तास्तेऽभिवन्द्यैनमध्यगीषत वाङ्मयम् ।
सकृत् कात्यायनः श्रुत्वा[2] द्विर्व्याळिस्त्रिरथापरः ॥ ५४ ॥

ते तु निर्वर्तितस्वार्था गुर्वर्थं दक्षिणार्थिनः ।
महापद्ममुपेत्याथ प्रार्थयन्नर्थमीहितम् ॥ ५५ ॥

तस्मिन् काले स कन्यां स्वां संहृताशेषहाटकः ।
यो मे हेमलवं दद्यात्तस्मै देयेत्यतिष्ठिपत् ॥ ५६ ॥

ततः कणिकया हेम्नः कन्यां कश्चिदयाचत ।
कुतो लब्धमिति क्ष्मापस्तमप्राक्षीत् स चाब्रवीत् ॥ ५७ ॥

मयैतत् कन्यकालोभान्निस्सुवर्णतया भुवः ।
श्मशानलब्धमित्युक्ते हर्षादौज्झदसावसून् ॥ ५८ ॥

व्याळिशिक्षितयोगस्तमिन्द्रदत्तः कळेबरम् ।
प्रविश्यार्थैर्नृपो भूत्वा कात्यायनमतर्पयत् ॥ ५९ ॥

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1. पाकमुवाप च. ख. 2. त्वा. क.

अमात्येनार्यकाख्येन स्वदेहे वह्निसात्कृते ।
इन्द्रदत्तेन राज्ञैव नन्दराज्यमभुज्यत ॥ ६० ॥

विरूपया च तज्ज्ञात्वा यक्षीभूयान्वभूयत ।
इतरावपि गुर्वर्थं कृत्वा स्वैरमगच्छताम् ॥ ६१ ॥

महापद्मसुतान् सर्वानुद्धृत्यामात्यकोपितः ।
तत्पदे खलु चाणक्यश्चन्द्रगुप्तमतिष्ठिपत् ॥ ६२ ॥

स तु पद्मनिधिः शप्तः कुबेरेणान्तिकं गतः ।
यस्मादर्थिजनस्येच्छा न त्वया परिपूरिता ॥ ६३ ॥

नैव न्यायार्जितं वित्तं यत्त्वया क्षत्रजन्मना ।
तस्मान्मानुष एव त्वं भूयो भूया इति स्फुटम् ॥ ६४ ॥

स च त्वत्तनयो भूत्वा निवृत्तस्य वनाद् ऋषेः ।
पुरञ्जयस्य साचिव्यं कृत्वा त्यक्ष्यति मर्त्यताम् ॥ ६५ ॥

इत्युक्त्वान्तर्हितो यक्षः पद्मः पद्मोद्भवाख्यया ।
आसीत् तस्य सुतः पश्चान्मन्त्री च श्वशुरस्य ते ॥ ६६ ॥

तस्य रत्नोद्भवो नाम सूनुः सागरमन्वगात् ।
वार्तापि तस्य साधोर्मे यावदद्य न विद्यते ॥ ६७ ॥

यौ सुश्रुतसुमन्त्राख्यौ तस्यास्तां तनुजाविमौ ।
सत्यशर्मसुमत्याख्यौ तनयौ मतिशर्मणः ॥ ६८ ॥

सुमित्रः कामपालश्च धर्मपालसुतावपि ।
सत्यशर्मा तु धर्मात्मा तीर्थयात्रामगाहत ॥ ६९ ॥

कामपालोऽपि कामात्मा क्वासौ न ज्ञायते गतः ।
अन्ये तु खलु चत्वारो य इमे मम मन्त्रिणः ॥ ७० ॥

इति ब्रुवति भूनाथे मुनिपुत्रः किशोरकम् ।
आश्चर्याकारमाश्लिष्यन्नाजगाम जगाद च ॥ ७१ ॥

अहमद्य कलिङ्गेषु तुङ्गदारुणि कानने ।
रामतीर्थान्निवृत्तः सन् प्राप्तोऽस्मि हरमन्दिरम् ॥ ७२ ॥

आराधयिष्यन् भूतेशमभ्यर्णे पुष्पभाजनम् ।
विनिधायारभे तत्र स्नातुं निर्झरवारिणि ॥ ७३ ॥

अथाग्निमानयं देशः कश्चिदित्युच्चभाषिणीम् ।
दृष्ट्वा किमिदमित्युक्ता प्रत्यूचे काचिदङ्गना ॥ ७४ ॥

श्रूयतां यवनद्वीपे वरिष्ठस्य वणिक्पतेः ।
कालगुप्ताह्वयस्याहं जाता दुहितृवर्धनी ॥ ७५ ॥

सा कन्या यौवनारम्भे पुरुषद्वेषिणी पुनः ।
समुद्रदत्त ! क्वासीति मुमोहोपवने क्वचित् ॥ ७६ ॥

मया तु पृष्टा मत्प्रेम्णा रहसीदमभाषत ।
कृष्णगुप्तस्य नामाहं दुहिता पूर्वजन्मनि ॥ ७७ ॥

कदाचित्काम्यरूपेण पुंसा मे पितृसंनिधौ ।
इत्यालापितमश्रौषं भित्त्यन्तरनिषेदुषी ॥ ७८ ॥

समुद्रदत्तनामानं वणिजं गणयस्व माम् ।
तस्य मे विधिवैषम्यात् कर्णीपुत्रेण मित्रता ॥ ७९ ॥

तेनापि गणिकाहेतोः परं वैरमभून्मम ।
कर्णीपुत्रः कळत्रं मे हर्तुं च प्रतिजज्ञिवान् ॥ ८० ॥

ततोऽहमकृतोद्वाहस्तन्तुच्छेदभिया पुनः ।
गूढमुद्वोढुमिच्छामीत्यस्मै तातश्च मामदात् ॥ ८१ ॥

निगूढं तेन नीताहमुज्जयिन्यां निजं गृहम् ।
कदाप्यनुनयन्तं मां पुरुषं कंचिदैक्षिषि ॥ ८२ ॥

प्रत्याचष्ट स मां पृष्टः कर्णीपुत्रोऽस्मि सुव्रते ।
अपसर्पैर्वेत्य त्वामुपासर्पं सुरुङ्गया ॥ ८३ ॥

मन्त्रदेवतया च त्वां वशीकृत्य वणिक्कुले ।
कन्येति विनिधायाहमग्रहीषं ससाक्षिकम् ॥ ८४ ॥

समुद्रदत्तायाहं त्वां दर्शयित्वा भृशक्रुधम् ।
असाक्षिकविवाहं तं व्यजैषि विदुषां पुरः ॥ ८५ ॥

Prof. J. R. Gharpure, Principal, Law College, Poona :—

In the death of Prof. Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastri, India has suffered a great loss and the Sanskrit language, one of its foremost devotees. His services in this branch of India's achievements are well known and will have an abiding place in the grateful memories of the Sanskrit students. I beg to associate myself with the tribute which the public meeting at Madras is paying to this great savant.

Sri K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology, Simla :

It was, indeed, very sad and shocking to learn of the Mahāmahopādhyāya's sudden demise. He was perhaps the last stalwart of the old school trained in the methods of old Sanskrit learning but having the critical faculty and discrimination of modern criticism on Western lines. Sanskrit learning is all the poor for his death. The spur that he gave to that great publication "Catalogus Catalogorum" was but a fitting sequel to his great work in bringing out so many catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts. His fame as a *Guru* under whom thousands of students considered it their privilege to have learnt Sanskrit travelled far beyond the confines of his province, and I hope his example will ever remain as a shining light before the younger generation.

Sri P. C. Diwanji, Retd. Judge, Bombay :—

The death of the venerated Mm. Kuppuswami is indeed a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship and research. His well-reasoned and well-supported thesis on the fallacy of the Maṇḍana-Sureśvara equation will ever remain a valuable contribution to the history of Indian philosophy in general and of Advaita in particular. May his highly developed and purified soul rest in peace and progress rapidly towards his highest ideal!

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Calcutta University :—

It is with very great sorrow I hear about the passing away of Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswamy Sastri. It was not my privilege to come into very closey touch with him, but I can claim at least an acquaintance with him which started many years ago when he came to Calcutta as President of the All-India Sanskrit Conference, and which was later on strengthened by subsequent contacts at the various Oriental conferences

and during my visit to Madras. It will not be possible for me to bear adequate testimony to the late Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's great scholarship in the field of Sanskrit studies in general and in his own domains of *Alaṅkāra*, *Mīmāṁsā* and other subjects in particular. We have always admitted and honoured his profound erudition, and have noted that he was in the forefront of Sanskrit scholarship in Tamil-Nāḍu and India, as an investigator and *pathikṛt* or path-maker and as an inspiring teacher. I was particulary struck by his sane and clear views about the linguistics of Sanskrit in one or two of the etymologies proposed by him (*e.g.* of the Pāli word *bhad-anta* as coming from the root *bhad* which is equally the source of *bhad-ra*) ; and my personal contact with him revealed to me his genial personality combining deep scholarship with perfect urbanity and with a genuine sympathy for younger workers in the domains of Indology. His presence truly shed "sweetness and light" everywhere, and his name and his kind face will always remain cherished memories with me. I trust we shall be able to honour the memory of this great scholar and sage in a fitting manner by an all-India effort; and I offer my own personal homage to the great soul of Mahāmahopādhyāya Ācārya Kuppusvāmi Śāstrī, as a tribute of sincere respect and admiration to an elder scholar and master from a younger worker in the same wide field of Indian civilisation and culture as expressed in manifold ways in language and literature.

Mm. Pandit A. CHINNASWAMI SASTRI, Principal, College of Theology, Benares Hindu University :—

I was shocked to hear the sad news of the untimely passing away of Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Pandit S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, my revered Guru, under whom I had the privilege of studying Mīmāmsā for some years. From what I have seen, I dare say that he was the only savant who combined in himself all the qualities and qualifications that go to make a veteran scholar, uniting Oriental pāṇḍitya with western scientific and critical scholarship. To be brief, he was matchless in pāṇḍitya, untiring in teaching, modest in disposition and enjoying an international reputation. One peculiar feature of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya was that he went very deep into each and every book that he dealt with. The title of Vidyāvācaspati was justly conferred on him and

he was the only Paṇḍita in its true sense in the Sanskrit world. It will not be an exaggeration to say that he was *Sarvatantra-svatantra* which has been vouchsafed and confirmed by the fact that many scholars well-versed and specialists in particular subjects often approached him to get their doubts cleared by him. I cannot but mention the fact as to how great scholars were surprised to see him discussing with profundity almost all branches of studies such as Vedānta, Mīmāmsā, Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya and Sāhitya, and thus began to admire and reverence him.

The sad demise of the late Vidyāvācaspati is a cruel blow to Indians in general and to those who serve at the altar of Sanskrit literature in particular. The loss is irreparable.

Mm. D. V. POTDAR, Bharatiya Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandal, Poona :—

The death of Mm. Kuppuswami Sastriar removes from the world of Orientalists a great and distinguished figure. His death creates a gap not easy to be filled. That at a time when his ripe scholarship would have been far more fruitful, we have to mourn his loss is a matter of great misfortune for us all. In spite of such heavy losses, we, who have been left behind, have to lift the torch and bear it high up till this country once more regains its proud position in the world of scholarship and learning.

Mm. V. V. MIRASHI, Principal, Morris College, Nagpur :—

By the death of Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, Sanskrit scholarship has sustained a serious blow from which it would find itself hard to recover. For more than two decades he shone as a towering presonality in the scholarly world. By his deep erudition as well as critical insight, he become a source of inspiration to a large band of young scholars who have kept the flag of research flying in South India. May his noble example induce countless generations of his countrymen to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the study of Sanskrit in order to maintain the high reputation of this country in the field of scholarship !

Dr. LAKSHMAN SARUP, Lahore :—

The late Mahāmahopād'hyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri was well known to me for many years. I entertained

not only feelings of friendship for him but also of great regard. As far as I know, he never went to Europe for the purpose of a scientific study of Sanskrit. But his work gave evidence to show that he was not only aware of the critical, comparative and historical methods of modern research but actually applied them in his own individual work. With the comprehensive outloook of an Occidental scholar, he combined the depth and mastery of the orthodox and the traditional Orientalist. His sad and untimely passing away is a severe blow to the science of Indology in general, and to Sanskrit scholarship in particular.

Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona :—

All Sanskritists and Indologists will mourn this irreparable loss, as Prof. Shastri was not only a devotee of Sanskrit but one of its stalwart champions. My last sight of Prof. Shastri was when he came here to deliver our anniversary address in 1936. It was at this time that he specially saw me and explained to me the scheme of the *Revised Catalogus Catalogorum* and requested me to help it in every possible way. Though I had not the good fortune of being one of his students, I had always entertained a deep respect and admiration for his unremitting pursuit of Sanskrit studies and his solicitude for the welfare of Sanskrit students. His monumental catalogues of Mss. in the Madras Library and his numerous editions of difficult Sanskrit texts, not to say a large number of papers and addresses written and delivered by him, have left their unmistakable mark on Sanskrit studies. I therefore share to the full your sense of sorrow at the demise of such a friend and benefactor of Sanskrit and Sanskritists par excellence.

Dr. B. T. Bhattacharya, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda :—

Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri now completes the series of Sanskritists belonging to the orthodox school, who have left us to join the immortals. His loss will be bemoaned not only in Madras where he lived, worked and died, but also by his numerous admirers outside the Province, and beyond the seas by Orientalists all over the word.

To me it is a personal loss. I knew him fairly intimately, passed many pleasant hours in conversation, and attended his

lectures, especially at Allahabad and Lahore. As a student of manuscripts, I had carried on continous correspondence when he was in charge of the Government Mss. Library at Madras. One of his pupils Pandit Ramaswami Sastri, now enjoying an enviable reputation as a sound scholar, is still working under me as the Srauta Pandit at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The help and guidance, given cheerfully in the past, by the learned Sastri are now, alas ! no longer available. The loss is irreparable.

Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri always impressed me as 'profound'. His knowldge of Sanskrit was unfathomable, his width of vision was unsurpassable, and the extent of his reading was almost boundless. He never expressed himself in an incomprehensible language as is the wont of the high-brow, but in simple, understandable and soul-stirring words. This particular gift of making complicated things look simple made him one of the most popular professors of Sanskrit throughout India. All great men of Madras of the present generation are his pupils directly or indirectly, and they are unanimous in paying a glowing tribute to their worthy professor.

Sastriji's critical editions of standard works such as the Advaita Brahmasiddhi, Vibhramaviveka, Dhvanyāloka, and the numerous volumes of Descriptive and other Catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. will ever stand as an enduring monument of his great scholarship, painstaking industry and phenomenal learning.

Mm. Kuppuswami possessed a genuine love for Sanskrit and Sanskritic studies which he strove hard to popularise. He organised the Sanskrit College at Tanjore, introduced Oriental Title examinations at the Madras University, and gave a fillip to Sanskrit studies throughout the Presidency. Although an authority on the Vedānta, Alankāra and Mīmāmsā, his knowledge of the other Śāstras was not less profound. The Western critical methods made that knowledge more useful and practical. The era of Sanskrit renaissence now evident in the Madras Presidency is the direct result of the life-long labours of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya.

The starting of the New Catalogus Catalogorum will add to to the immortal glory of the departed scholar. Mm. Kuppuswami will ever be remembered by Sanskritists all over the world.

Dr. V.G. PARANJPE, Professor of Sanskrit, Fergusson College, Poona :—

I was very sorry to read in the papers the news of the passing away of Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri. It will be only in the fitness of things that you should commemorate suitably the name of a scholar who has been to Madras what Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was to Bombay. Comparisons are odious, but they are also of use in enabling us to understand clearly the particular field in which each of these two scholars stood supreme. While Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was a pioneer in various fields of Indology in all of which he has left work of a high order, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami was great in his specialisation in the systems of Indian philosophy and in the training of research scholars. Both are distinguished by brevity of expression and the apparent smallness of their scholarly output; but it world appear as though the late Mm. Kuppuswami Sastṛi had reserved his learning for his illustrious pupils and was loath to communicate it to the general public. In the Introduction to his edition of the Brahmasiddhi, the true extent of his stupendous erudition reveals itself. He combined in himself the profundity of the traditional Pandit with the critical acumen and the sense of historical perspective of the Western scholar. His death at the relatively early age of 64, when he was full of promise of greater achievement, is an irreparable loss to Sanskrit scholarship. Just about the day of his death, I was speaking to one of my research students, with whom I was studying the Sphoṭavāda, that the scholar who could do justice to the subject was Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri. I have also envied the lot of people from Madras who had the benefit of his great erudition. I have really felt that he was a scholar of whom we shall not see the like in many years to come.

Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, Professor of Sanskrit & Allied Languages, Nowrosjee Wadia College, Poona :—

Professor Sastri's death is a great loss to Sanskrit scholarship, particularly in branches insufficiently known like the Pūrvamīmāṁsā. He was a representative of what is best in the old and new schools of Sanskrit learning, and held a unique place among the Sastris and Professors. The late

Professor has left behind a large circle of young men trained in his methods to continue his work.

Prof. KSHETRESH CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA, Allahabad University :—

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri was a great Sanskritist, profoundly learned in different branches of Indian philosophy, particularly in Vedānta, Nyāya and Pūrva Mīmāmsā, and in Sāhitya and other branches of Sanskrit learning. He was a sound Pandit of the old school but also a critical scholar of the modern type. He was considered as the greatest Sanskritist in South India and was held in the highest esteem in the North as well. His demise leaves a real gap which will not be filled by any one else. In these days of quick results, sound scholarship is declining everywhere and traditional scholarship is fast disappearing. Panditji's demise has, therefore, caused an irreparable loss to Sanskrit learning. It is some consolation, however, that he has left a number of very able disciples.

SRI VISHVA BANDHU SHASTRI, Honorary Director, The D. A. V. College Research Department and The Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lohore :—

The sad death of Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Shastri brings to an abrupt end an exceptionally brilliant career, well known at every centre of Sanskrit learning for its fertility as well as profundity. A great master of both ancient erudition and modern methodology, he adorned everything that he touched. While his name will for ever inspire and encourage the coming generations of Sanskrit scholars, his masterly works will go down to posterity as models of standardised literary output. His death has caused an irreparable loss to Sanskrit scholarship, from which, indeed, a bright light may be said to have been taken away.

DR. S. M. KATRE, Director, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona :—

Though we had been hearing for some time past about the late Professor's ailment, none of us was prepared for the news. He combined within himself the genius of the orthodox Pandit with the critical acumen of the Western Scholars in a remarkable degree, and possessed in addition, the still

rarer gift of communicating his inspiration to all those who came to study at his feet. It is this particular aspect of his many-sided life that will far out-live his other contributions, which are by themselves not inconsiderable. The province of Madras loses in him a great scholar and teacher and the rest of India a unique personality in ths domain of Sanskrit learning. It will be difficult to fill the place which he adorned so well; but one can at least look forward to the blazing of the sparks which he has scattered abroad. May the great scholar rest in peace !

Prof. D. M. DATTA, Professor of Philosophy, Patna College, Patna :—

The news of the death of Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri comes with a feeling of personal bereavement, as it must do to all interested in Indian culture, and aware of his contribution to its cause. With him passes away a great Indian institution, rich in ancient orthodox lore, as well as in modern critical scholarship. We can scarcely think now of another person to whom orthodox Sastris and modern university scholars can equally go for further light and guidance. His literary publications are too meagre for his scholarship. But his name will go down to posterity, as that of late Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, as one who cared less for personal fame than for inspiring a band of research workers who would fulfil his mission in manifold direction. A glance at the prefaces, forewards and dedications of books on any branch of Indian culture published from the South will bear out that he has done more than any individual, bent upon personal immortality, could do. He will live in these works, and many more which will follow them. Even in his retirement, he converted his native village (on the sacred Kāverī), Gaṇapati agrahāram, into a pilgrimage for scholars. Is it too much to expect that the life-long *tapasyā* of this great soul will be an undying source of strength to all engaged in the study and dissemination of the sacred culture of our land ?

Mm. DR. UMESH MISHRA, Allahabad university, Allahabad:—

I am extremely shocked to learn the sad demise of the late lamented Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar. I consider it a personal loss. He was a great friend of my father the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Jayadeva

Misra of Benares. He was so very kind to me. Indeed he was one of those savants of Indian scholarship who could combine within himself the scientific and scholarly outlook of the West with the indigenous depth of learning of the East. He was all along a source of great inspiration to young scholars working in the Oriental field. It is not yet full two years when we had to mourn the passing away of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha when another calamity has fallen on the head of Oriental scholarship. Really our Sastriji was a neucleus of ancient learning in the South. He has produced hosts of scholars who are occupying great positions in the scholarly world. It is really a national loss which can never be mended. The only satisfaction is that he has left behind the tradition of his scholarship amongst his dear pupils.

DR. MANGAL DEV SHASTRI, Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares :—

I myself and the whole staff of the Sanskrit College are shocked to hear of the passing away of Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. On behalf of the staff I enclose herewith a few verses mourning the irreparable loss Sanskrit learning has sustained by the sad death of the great scholar. His services to Sanskrit scholarship were manifold for which all interested in that scholarship in India and abroad will always feel grateful.

DR. R.N. DANDEKAR, Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona :—

The services of Prof. Sastri to the cause of Sanskrit learning have been indeed very great. His monumental Catalogues of Mss. in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, his critical editions of abstruse Sanskirt texts, his scholarly papers on Indian Philosophy and allied subjects, his able direction of the revised Catalogus Catalogorum of Mss. and, last but not least, his Presidential Addresses delivered to the several Conferences of the learned in the land, show, in a remarkable manner, the acuteness of his intellect, the profundity of his learning and the breadth of his academic outlook. These qualities coupled with a sterling character and puritan way of life have not only left their indelible mark on the generation of scholars who had the good fortune to learn at his feet but have spread his fame beyond the confines of the Bhāratavarsha, wherever Sanskrit is studied and respected,

On the occasion of its Silver Jubilee, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute took the opportunity of showing its appreciation of Prof. Sastri's services by electing him a Honorary Member.

DR. A. N. UPADHYE, Professor of Ardhamagadhi, Rajaram College, Kolhapur :—

I am extermely sorry to hear about the sad demise of Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. I am at once reminded of the Mysore Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, and his tall and imposing personality stands before my eyes.

It is very unfortunate that we lost some eminent Orientalists in the last few months, and today we are to mourn the loss of Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri. India loses an outstanding Sanskritist in him who remarkably combined in himself the essentials of a Paṇḍita and a Professor. His depth of learning aad his lucidity of Sanskrit expression always commanded respect from the auidence. Though he is no more, his work remains behind. The traditions of Sanskrit learning, so eminently shaped by him, I am sure, will be carried on by the University of Madras through the worthy successors and pupils of the late lamented Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri.

Prof. G. H. BHATT, Sanskrit Professor, Baroda College, Baroda : —

The news of the unexpected death of Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri is very shocking to all Oriental scholars. I had the privilege of coming into contact with him in the fourth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in Allahabad in 1926, and since then, I cherished the highest regard for him as a great Sanskrit scholar. His work in the field of Indology is too well-known to the world of scholars. His critical editions of standard works on a variety of topics clearly bear testimony to the rare combination of Eastern and Western methods of study and criticism and the plan of the New Catalogue Catalogorum will ever remain a monument of the glory of the great scholar. His death has created a gap in the field of Sanskrit scholarship which cannot be filled up at a time when old Pandits are fast disappearing from the country. He was, in fact, responsible for the revival of Sanskrit learning in the south of India and can be favourably compared with Sir Bhandarkar, Sir Ganganath Jha and Mahā-

mahopādhyāya Dr. Harprasad Sastri, the pioneers of Sanskrit learning in India. It is to be desired that a Memorial Volume in honour of the departed Shastri should be published at an early date so that his numerous friends, admirers and pupils may get an opportunity to pay their humble tribute of homage to the late scholar.

Sri V. V. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR :—

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was greatly instrumental in establishing the Sanskrit Academy and he guided its deliberations successfully for several years. The best memorial for him would be to continue the work he had done for the Academy.

Sir S. VARADACHARIAR :—

In the case of the Mahāmahopādhyāya, it was not merely the depth of the erudition or his passion for knowledge but his remarkable organising capacity, the way he devoted himself to the task of making Sanskrit not merely a 'tolerated' subject but a 'respected' subject of study in modern cultural courses that appealed more to the public. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri attempted to bring together Eastern culture and Western methods. When he was connected with the University in the various branches of Oriental learning, he showed how it was possible to make Oriental learning respected even when judged according to the severest Occidental standards. The contribution which Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri made to the study of Mīmāmsā and to the activities of the Sanskrit Academy deserved special mention.

Sir T. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARYA :—

I was in daily touch with him when he was the Head of the Sanskrit College at Tiruvadi. His death is a great loss to Sanskrit learning.

Sri K. V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR :—

Though his presence was awe-inspiring on account of his unsurpassed scholarship and erudition, in his personal relations with me, he was a dear and trusted friend and well-wisher. His death is a loss to me and to the world of scholarship which it is unthinkable to refill.

Sri K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER :—

The greatest Sanskrit scholar in all India is gone. The loss to the Sanskrit world is irreparable. The doughty cham-

pion of culture is laid low. I feel deeply the loss of my most respected and loving friend. Never more can I have such a friend. I shed tears as I remember the last long conversation with him, the words of ripe wisdom and scholarship flowing from a loving heart and his indomitable will to live and work for his dear cause.

Prof. A. CHAKRAVARTI, I. E. S. (RETD.) :—

Prof. Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, M.A., I.E.S., who occupied the chair of Sanskrit in Presidency College, Madras, was a distinguished scholar who had the unique privilege of learning Sanskrit in the traditional method under a Guru and being acquainted with the modern critical method of approach characteristic of Western savants. Reserved by nature and profound in learning, he always inspired his students with awe and reverence and commanded the respect of his friends. Equipped with high intellectual attainments in the field of Indology, he was always approached by individuals and institutions for guidance and help which he unstintedly gave. He always pitched a high standard for himself and others; this made him intolerant of shallow pretence to learning, though he was sympathetic and helpful to the intellectually weak. Averse to limelight and unacquainted with the art of advertising, he was naturally disinclined to rush to print. So much so we have very little by way of literary contributions consistent with his deep erudition and depth of knowledge. He was one of those few who were promoted to I.E.S. during the period when recruitment to this I.E.S. was in force. His reputation as scholar spread throughout India and beyond. The few of his students whom he trained and who occupy important positions in the field of education will be eloquent testimony to the master's ability to mould the character and equip the mind of his young students.

Mahakavi Ullor S. PARAMESVARA AIYAR, M.A., B.L., Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies and Fine Arts, Travancore University:—

Mahāmahopādhyāya, Vidyāvācaspati, Darśanakalānidhi, Kulapati, Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri has been snatched away from our midst by the cruel hands of Death, and the world of Sanskrit scholarship is all the poorer to-day by that loss. By the inscrutable command of the Disposer of Events he has been posted for work elsewhere, and South India does

not own a son of equal eminence to take his place. We, who are left behind, can only bow our heads to His will and send up our prayers to Him to grant us the strength to bear this affliction with faith and hope.

The late Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri and myself, as also the late Messrs. A. Panchapagesa Aiyar aad S. Subba Rao, appeared together for the M. A. Degree Examination of the Madras University in 1904. Mr. Panchapagesan and myself were room-mates, while our other two friends lived close by, and this propitious propinquity gave us the opportunity for meeting almost daily and engaging ourselves in literary and linguistic discussions. In those days Mr. Panchapagesan was our grammarian, Mr. Subba Rao our Vedantist, and Mr. Kuppuswami (he was not known as Sastri then) our literary critic, while I played the role of the poet. Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri's faculty of literary appreciation was sufficiently well-developed even at that time, and it is no wonder that he subsequently became an ardent admirer of Dhvanyāloka and edited the Keralīya commentary of Udaya, known as Kaumudī, on that work.

Mr. Kuppuswami's ambition in those days was to practise as a lawyer, for which some of his mental and moral qualifications eminently fitted him. He went through his F.L. Course in Madras and completed his B.L. Course in Trivandrum where we had more and more occasions to come into intimate contact with each other. He was, however, not destined to pass the B.L. Degree Examination. Man proposes and God disposes—always, we believe, for the best, and in this instance, particularly so. There has never been a dearth of legal talent in South India; but there has always been paucity of Oriental scholarship satisfying the combined tests of Eastern and Western standards. Providence willed that he should become a Professor of Sanskrit, instead of a lawyer smothering the efflorescence of his individualistic genius, and Providence was right. Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri eventually decided to devote his life to the study and the teaching of Sanskrit, and during the formative years when he was attached to the Mylapore and Tiruvadi Sanskrit Colleges, he assiduously worked up to the highest pitch of his tastes and talents and attained remarkable proficiency in all the four Śāstras and more especially in Pūrvamīmāmsā and Advaita-Vedānta. The opportunity for the dissemination of that accumulated learning, so profound

and so versatile, came to him ere long when he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras. He was now in his element, and his subsequent career was a heroic march from success to success. He had reached the very acme of his eminence by the time when, owing to failing health, he was obliged to relinquish the Professorship of Sanskrit in the Annamalai University, to enjoy a brief spell—alas ! all-too-brief-of quiet rest. We often met at meetings of examiners and boards of studies in the Madras and Annamalai Universities. As an old and intimate friend, I took a keen interest in watching his phenomenal career; and every year that elapsed elevated him in my estimation.

Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri was, even in the relentless estimate of Pandits of the traditional type, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of his time, and among Sanskrit scholars in South India with University degrees to their credit, he unquestionably held the foremost place. To use the words of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, his discerning patron, who is ever intellectually just and never emotionally generous, Mr. Sastri combined in himself "the profundity of the Pandit and the critical scholarship of the West". It has to be admitted that his output as a writer is in no way commensurate with his scholarship. His *Manual of Indian Logic* is a meritorious publication, his papers on diverse topics of rare cultural interest lie scattered among the pages of several magazines, and more particularly in the *Journal of Oriental Research* founded in Madras under his inspiration and guidance; and he has edited certain abstruse original Sanskrit texts with meticulous care. More things did not flow out of his pen, partly because he never aspired to become a full-fledged author, and partly also because his massive mind, which moved with measured steps, did not believe in spectacular flashes.

Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri devoted almost the whole of his time to the sacred profession of teaching, which was God-ordained for him, and it was in this sphere of his activity that he rose to the full stature of his genius. It has been aptly stated that teachers are called masters, because they really exercise a mastery over the generations which they teach, and through them the generations that follow. Mr. Sastri realised, as very few teachers do, that true nature and extent of the loyalty which that profession inexorably demands from its

votaries, and lived up to that realization. The large bulk of the Sanskrit M.A.'s of South India to-day are his students, and I know how it has been possible for him to reign over their hearts and affections with such singular power. He satisfied in every way the qualifications demanded of an *Ācārya* by Caraka and other ancient Indian sages, and he agreed with Bhāsa in his observation that the defect of a disciple should be traced to the fault of his instructor. He was, therefore, at his task, day in and day out, filling his capacious mind with fresh riches every moment, animated by the single desire of their fructifying ten-fold in the minds of the young men who sat at his feet and who, in due time, were expected to be the torch-bearers of India's ancient wisdom. He loved his students even as a father loves his children, and promoted their interests in every possible way. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that his was a life of selfless service, dedicated wholly and solely to the cause of Sanskrit education, and if to-day Sanskrit, Hindi, and the indigenous languages of South India hold an honoured place in the scheme of University studies in Madras and elsewhere, that consummation is mainly the result of the strenuous labours of patriots like the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar and Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri.

Mr. Sastri's devotion to duty was intensely passionate. He put his soul even into the minutest details of his day-to-day work, whatever might be the extent of the burden that it would impose on himself, with the result that there was nothing that he touched which he was not able to adorn. His unrivalled success as a Senator was, in no small measure, due to his marvellous capacity for application. It is needless for me to refer, in this brief article, to his other activities such as the Curatorship of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras, which was vastly enriched by his wise direction and valuable guidance. The Sanskrit Academy of Madras, and, as already mentioned, the Journal of Oriental Research are two of the sacred lamps lit by him in the temple of Amarabhāratī (Sanskrit), and it is our imperative duty to take charge of them with becoming reverence and see that they shine with added lustre in the years to come.

Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri died full of honour, but not so full of years, as he could have been easily spared for at least two decades more. He has been now called to his rest, but let

us console ourselves in the reflection that he has left behind a memory and an example which it should be our national privilege to cherish—the memory of a lovable personality with the credit of good opportunities usefully employed, and an example of strenuous work conscientiously discharged. Let us not forget that, in this composite world of side-tracked energy for the satisfaction of selfish ends, and the sloth-encrusted surface-living to which Eastern scholarship falls so easily a prey, such memory and example are of inestimable value. Sir John Woodroffe has rightly pointed out: "India must be on her guard to preserve herself, unless she is content to be assimilated to others and thus lose her racial soul. Where can she gain strength to save herself as herself expect from her own cultural inheritance?" Mr. Sastri and a few other Indian savants of his eminence have shown us the true nature of this priceless inheritance, and let us hold fast to it and come into our own. May his good soul rest in peace, and may his words and deeds be our Ācāryas in the future—Ācāryas who, in their very nature, are at once infallible and imperishable!

Sri A. V. GOPALACHARIAR, B.A., B.L., Tiruchirapalli:—

Mm. Kuppuswami Sastriar was a unique combination of profound Pandit-learning in all the Sastras and Western culture of a high order. Such a combination of both cultures in so much abundance has never been approached before. न भूतो न भविष्यति would be an apt description of his combined scholarship. My first acquaintance with him was through the late V. Krishnaswami Iyer. While Sastriar was the Principal of his Sanskrit College, I had the privilege of hearing the lessons taught in the College. My next meeting with Sastriar was when he came to Srirangam by the desire of Sir P.S. Sivaswami Iyer to make proposals for extending the Veda Pathasala of Chinniya Mudaliar Charities as a Sastra Pathasala also. I had opportunities of knowing about his Pandit scholarship when he was examining great Sanskrit Pandits in the Sastras with a view to employing them in the Pathasala. The Adhvara Mīmāṃsā Kutūhala Vṛtti was edited by Sastriar with a masterly summary of the Adhikaraṇas. Mīmāmsā and Poetics were his forte. He has turned out eminent Mīmāmsā scholars of whom he was proud. His affection and regard for his eminent scholars were proverbial and I can personally testify to the overflowing love and regard between Sastriar and some

of his students. At a meeting at Trichinopoly to express our sense of irreparable loss to Sanskrit by the demise of three great Sanskrit scholars within five days, Pandits who were Sastriar's students spoke of his high qualities as a teacher. Sastriar's analytic summary of the Bṛahadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya published in the Vani Vilas edition is of valuable help in understanding the Bhāṣya correctly. His introductions to Sri D.T. Tathacharya's commentary on the Mīmāṃsā Paribhāṣā, Prof. P.N. Srinivasacharya's Bhedābheda, the Nyāyakuliśa, a work of Vedānta Deśikar's guru published in the Annamalai Sanskrit Series, his contributions to the Journal of Oriental Research and his presidential address at the Allahabad Oriental Conference testify to his wide erudition and passionate love of Sanskrit and Sanskrit learning. Sastriar would generously appreciate and speak well of any merit he discovered in others. He presided over a meeting in the Sanskrit College convened to hear readings from my commentaries on the Kumārasambhava. He fell in love with the exposition of the great poem and said it was a lesson in Dhvani. He sought the help of the late Catuśśāstra Kalpataru Seshachariar svāmi of Kumbhakonam to understand some difficult portions of the Śrī Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja and he admired the Svāmi's exposition. My last meeting with him was just two years before his demise when he presided over an anniversary of the Trichinopoly Sanskrit Parishad. While at Trichinopoly, he was kind enough to go through some pages of my Śākuntala Anubhava and made valuable suggestions and corrections. The loss of the scholar will be felt keenly by the entire Sanskrit world.

PROF. M. R. RAJAGOPALA AIYANGAR :—

Though I was a colleague of Sri Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for over six years in the Presidency College, Madras, I had not had the privilege of moving closely with him until I went to Annamalai University as a lecturer. Thereafter I had frequent opportunities of conversing with him on literary and other subjects and was struck with admiration for his scholarship which was at once wide, deep, and critical. In him there was a unique combination of philosophical subtlety and keen appreciation of literary values. To hear his conversation on poetry and poetics was in itself a liberal education. Whenever I left his presence after a talk on literary matters, I felt a sadder and a wiser man, sadder because I became cons-

cious of the utter inadequacy of my own knowledge and wiser because some of my hazy notions had undergone correction and clarification.

White at Annamalainagar, Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar once spoke to me of schemes of literary and philosophical research to be taken up by him after retirement. He contemplated also the expansion of some of his University lectures into treatises. I am sure that, if health had permitted, he would have made an invaluable contribution to the study of Indian Philosophy.

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar's solicitude for his pupils and friends was extremely generous. When they submitted their literary or philosophical compositions to his scrutiny, he went through them with the greatest care and patience, however unworthy they might be, and suggested lines of improvement which were of the greatest value. Whatever he did by way of teaching, writing or judging was always done with the throughness of a scholar who had a keen literary conscience.

SRI R. KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE :—

Prof. Sylvain Levi and Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri

Let me quote a very unique event during the lifetime of Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. which requires repetition.

Prof. Sylvain Levi was a well-known Sanskrit scholar and savant of France; he was President of the Second Oriental Conference held in India; he served also in the Santiniketan in Bengal as Honorary Professor. One touch of his sentiment has made the world kin, in that he described himself as one belonging to *Sarasvatī Gotra*, adding that all Sanskrit scholars are of that Gotra.

Prof. Levi had at once a real admiration, regard and respect for Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Darśanakalānidhi Kulapati Kuppuswami Sastri for the special reason, which he (Dr. Levi) had found out with a scholarly instinct; it was this: Prof. Sastri was one of those who, amidst the hostilities between the ancient orthodox and the modern analytical scholars, had pitched out *le juste milieu* (the golden mean) between the two.

When Dr. Levi came to Madras with the sole object of making a *darsan* of Prof. Sastri, he, an Occidentalist, brought with him, following the custom of an Orientalist, a venerable present—invaluable to pious Hindus, to be given to the religious Sastri.

The present consisted of Sālagrāmas; they are held sacred and worshipped and welcomed by the Hindus, as they represent the *avatārs* of God. They are fossil ammonites found in the bed of the river Gandak in Nepal. Prof. Levi, author of the History of Nepal, requested the Rājaguru of Nepal—the chief priest to the Ruler—to select for him some best Sālagrāmas; four were selected by the Guru and named also by him as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna. They were presented by Prof. Levi to Prof. Sastri—with the true Hindu custom *i.e.*, with an Indian postration before the presentee. Prof. Sastri used to worship them at his daily *pooja*.

PROF. D. S. SARMA :—

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was up-to-date in his knowledge of comparative philology and literary criticism. He had helped several people to write books on Hindu religion and philosophy though he himself did not write any books. His conspicuous trait was his sterling independence.

PROF. S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, Editor, Tamil Lexicon :—

I desire to refer to the contribution made by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri for the development of Tamil in the Madras University. Prof. Sastri took great interest in ancient Tamil Manuscripts and he had collected a number of old manuscripts for the Oriental Manuscripts Library of which he was the Curator for many years. He also greatly helped in the publication of the Tamil Lexicon by the University of Madras

SRI N. RAGHUNATHA AIYAR, *The Hindu*, Madras :—

With thousands of other Sanskrit lovers in the country, I moan the loss of the distinguished Professor as a great blow to scholarship and culture. I had not the pleasure of knowing him personally or studying under him. But I saw enough of his relations with his students to understand the depth of their attachment to him. And I always watched with keen and respectful appreciation the zest with which he applied his fertile and resourceful mind to the task of educational statesmanship.

PROF. K. SWAMINATHAN, Presidency College, Madras :—

He was the greatest scholar of our generation and we all owed much to him. For myself I learned a great deal both of literary and linguistic criticism and of educational statesmanship from my contact with him during the last eighteen years.

SRI K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI :—

The Hero as Scholar

I knew the late Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar intimately for many decades. My revered father, the late Prof. K. Sundararama Iyer knew him even more intimately than myself and had the highest regard for his many-sided genius and many-faced activity. Though Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar belonged to a later generation than my father, there was perfect kinship of spirit and sympathy and comprehension as between them. My father used to tell me that Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was unique in the height and breadth and depth of his knowledge of Sanskrit learning and specially admired Mr. Sastriar's rare gift of fluent and stately *impromptu* speech in Sanskrit on all topics, ancient or modern.

It was only after my retirement from service in 1933 that I came to know Mr. Sastriar very intimately. I had also the good fortune to watch his work in the University bodies in the Madras and Annamalai Universities I had also the privilege of being his guest now and then when he was the Dean of Oriental Studies at Annamalainagar. When he was at Madras I had gone to his house often out of a desire to come into contact with a first rate and well-equipped mind. The more I saw him, the more I loved and revered him.

Many tributes have been paid to his equal mastery of Sāhitya and Śāstras and his organisation of higher Sanskrit studies in our Presidency so as to preserve their ancient and vital spirit while bringing them into line with modern knowledge. What struck me most vividly among his many great traits were a remarkable trait of his character, a remarkable characteristic of his mental texture, and a remarkable feature of his achievement. He had a unique combination of poise and effort of what Matthew Arnold calls "toil unsevered from tranquillity." He was at work day after day and during all the waking moments of each day. But he was never in a hurry; he never lost his composure of spirit and even his physical movements were soft and slow and his speech was measured and deliberate. In his mental texture there was a unique combination of a keen sense of the permanent and eternal values of Sanskrit literature and art and philosophy and religion and a keen sense of the value of the modern historical and comparative methods of research. Modern research in India is often destructive of social and spiritual values but Mr. Sastriar never allowed research to set

itself in opposition to values and was impatient of such an attitude in others. It is true that he did not focus his energies so as to leave great constructive works embodying the results of his life-long study and research. But he belongs to that group of scholars who prize leaving a great tradition behind them and enkindling in their students the passion for wide and accurate knowledge which shines as an altar-flame in their own hearts, just as some poets are poet's poets, scholars are scholars' scholars. The Sanskrit Academy, Madras, and the Journal of Oriental Research are monuments of his constructive and creative work in the realm of Sanskrit learning and research. Here was a scholar. When comes such another?

PROF. M. S. SABHESAN, Madras Christian College:—

I had the privilege of moving closely with the learned Professor for two decades. I shall not be so presumptuous as to say anything about his scholarship or his merits as a teacher. It is, however, permissible for me to say that he was much interested in the progress and welfare of his students. His work was not restricted to the hours in the college time-table. I often used to see him surrounded by honours students in Sanskrit in the evenings. Students were free to utilise his vast knowledge of the several subjects included in the course of study. The Honours Course in Sansksit and Oriental Titles were constantly engaging his attention in addition to other duties connected with his official position in the Presidency College. His rare combination of both the Oriental and Western methods of approach turned the attention of several of his students to research and the results of their studies were published in the research journal conducted by him.

I happened to be closely associated with him in connection with work in the Academic Council and the Senate of the University of Madras. He was distinctly of the view that the University should insist on a high standard in academic matters. All proposals relating to the laws of the University courses, research schemes, examinations, studentships, rights and duties of members were considered by him primarily from this point of view. A perusal of the minutes of the meetings of the University authorities will show what his ideal and idea of a University were. He used to speak strongly and plainly but he was never guilty of insinuation or offensive language. His valuable qualities might have borne better fruit if the academic atmosphere of the University

had been impermeable to certain unhealthy tendencies in public life. The active period of the learned Professor coincided unfortunately with a time when a feeling of tension was beginning to be clearly perceptible. He was aware that a section of people in the University bodies, consciously or unconsciously, misunderstood him. He was afraid that the progress of of Oriental studies might be hampered. The promotion of Sanskrit should naturally have been the concern of one who was so eminent in that field. But he was not unmindful of the interests of the other Indian languages of South India. The comprehensive and progressive scheme of Oriental Titles which is no ordinary achievement for any University owes not a little to his initiative and scholarship. It is also a clear proof of the recognition by the learned Professor of the common interests of Sanskrit and the Dravidian languages. Those who moved with him freely can bear testimony to his wide outlook and real interest in the all round progress of Oriental studies.

Considering his position in the realm of Oriental studies and his capacity for steady and disinterested work, his friends thought it would be in the interests of the University of Madras if he could be persuaded to stand for the Syndicate. He laughed at the idea and, while finally agreeing to satisfy their desire, he said he had little hope of success in an election. It was a disappointment to his friends when the University body did not choose to return him to the Syndicate. For his part, the Mahāmahopādhyāya was not at all perturbed. He knew well how the wind would blow. Friends of Mr. Sastriar were surprised to note that even a select educated electorate could not escape the tendencies of the time. They were sorry that the talents of a person holding a good position with distinction were not given suitable opportunity.

Mr. Sastriar was a member of the Madras Teachers' Guild and took considerable interest in its activities. His appeal to the office-bearers of the Guild that they should go on with their work without being unduly worried by outturn, was irresistible.

His life is an example of plain living and high thinking. A great scholar, an enthusiastic teacher and a sincere friend, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastriar did his duty and was able to win the esteem of a large number of friends.

KULAPATI P. A. SUBRAHMANIA IYER :—

How much does not South India owe to the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Sastrigal? He was a towering genius, head and shoulders above most Sanskrit scholars in India. Ever silently busy, never put off his guard by any passionate reasoning, the revered gentleman was an exemplar of quiet dignity, peaceful, calm, consistent and flowing argumentativeness, and a magnanimous temper too high to remember a wrong or injustice done to him. If he was ever proud, it was because of his loving students, many of whom are scattered all over our land, holding high positions in Universities and other halls of learning.

There is much else too for which we must remember him with gratitude. The Madras University under the new constitution granted in 1922 owes not a little to him for its Laws, Regulations and Ordinances. Many a gap or unwary slip he filled in or set right in a manner that elicited the warm admiration of Vice-Chancellors Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu and Sir K. Ramunni Menon.

It is a tragedy that one long-standing wish dearly cherished by him, he did not live long enough to see duly fulfilled. That wish was that in his house on the bank of the Cauveri he should spend hours every day teaching *Advaita Vedanta* to *Sat Sishyas*, even as he himself was taught it by Palavāneri Swāmin.

SRI V. SUBRAHMANYA IYER, Principal, Ramesvaram Devasthanam Pathasala, Madura :—

In the passing away of Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, a deep gap has been created in the world of Sanskritists in India, especially in the South, which it is not easy to fill up. During the last three decades and more he was the one outstanding figure in the field of research in South India whether it related to Sanskrit, philosophy, history or Tamil. No conclusion, big or small, gained publicity or currency which did not get the seal of his approval.

I had not the good fortune to sit at his feet and learn. But during the last six or seven years, I had good many occasions to move with him very closely and have the benefit of his views on various subjects in the course of long and intimate conversations. The attainments of Sastrigal in Śāstras were of a unique character. He had the depth and erudition of the front rank old type Pandit combined with up-to-date methods of criticism and research. There was a

happy and harmonious blending of the East and the West and of the ancient and the modern in him. His views were broad and catholic with regard to literature, religion, or philosophy. He held no pet theories. He was not dogmatic. He studied things with the historical spirit. His genial and balanced temperament won for him a large circle of friends, Indian and European, who held him in high esteem and felt a reverence for him.

His services in the cause of Oriental education were great and manifold. It was his genius that shaped the courses of Oriental studies instituted in the Madras University. He was associated with the Madras Sanskrit College and the Rajah's College of Tiruvadi for some years during which period he placed those institutions on very stable foundations. To his credit must be mentioned that though he was an ardent lover of Sanskrit he was no less a lover and admirer of the Tamil language and literature. The present high position which Tamil occupies in the studies imparted in the Tiruvadi College is mainly due to his efforts.

The loss of Sastrigal to the country is indeed very great and irreparable. But there is some consolation. He has left for us a band of illustrious young scholars who, as his students, had reaped fully the advantage of personal training under him.

PROF. K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, Head of the Sanskrit Department, University of Lucknow:—

The news of the passing away of Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar came as a great shock. Due to circumstances, I never had the pleasure of sitting at his feet and feeling directly the inspiration of his teaching. But ever since I met him in 1922 I have been in touch with him. The depth and throughness which characterise his publications must have impressed his students also. It is a rare good fortune to have been the teacher of several generations of Pandits and Sanskrit scholars trained in the modern way. He has left a stamp on all those whom he taught and all speak of him with deep reverence and profound admiration. It will be very difficult to replace him. None bore the two titles "Vidyāvācaspati" and "Darśanakalānidhi" with greater appropriateness. May his soul rest in peace!

SELECT OPINIONS

Hermann Jacobi, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Bonn, 14th December, 1926.—I have perused your new Journal of Oriental Research with great interest. I heartily wish you success in your meritorious undertaking.

L. D. Barnett, School of Oriental Studies, London, 19th December, 1926.—It seems to me to be a good beginning to the enterprise which I hope will be very successful. Some of the matter is very good indeed.

J. Jolly, Wurzburg, Germany, 20th December, 1926.—This evidently is a periodical of great promise, with every chance of success.

O. Strauss, Professor of Sanskrit, Kiel University, 1st January, 1927.—Being very well pleased with the first number of your Journal of Oriental Research I ask you to enrol me as a subscriber.

Sir Richard Temple, Editor, Indian Antiquary, London, 6th January, 1927.—Your excellent Issue.

F. O. Schrader, Kiel, 9th January, 1927.—I have read with absorbing interest through the first number and find its contents quite satisfactory.......... A Journal of this kind has been undoubtedly a need in Madras since long.

Dr. Wilhelm Printz, Librarian, D. M. G. Halle, 14th January, 1927.—......This fascicle contains many very interesting and scholarly articles: a very pretty start!

"Bombay Chronicle." 12th December, 1926.—............... The Quality of scholarship displayed is of a high order.

"Indian Review." November, 1927.—We welcome this new Quarterly of Oriental Research.................The influence of Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Presidency College, has been ceaselessly exercised in furthering the cause of such learning........

"New India," 20th December, 1926.—.............The design and the get-up of the Journal is very good, and we recommend the Journal to all lovers of research and scholarship.

"Hindu," 9th Feburary, 1927.—...........The Journal will not merely maintain the high level reached in its first number but frequently transcend itself.

"Madras Mail," 21st January, 1927.—...............The contributions are from persons who have specialised in particular branches and show striking evidence of original work....

Dr. Sylvain Levi, Paris.—......It deals with so many sides of Indian Science, and in such an interesting way. What I like most in it, is its genuine and regular Indian flavour, its proper 'Rasa'. Many of your contributors, if not all of them, know how to combine Pandit-learning and Western standards.

Dr. H. Luders, Berlin University.—.........I was greatly impressed with the high standard of scholarship, the orginality of thought and the soundness of critical methods displayed in your contributions.....

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